THE
MODERN CHURCHMAN

By identifying the new learning with heresy, you make orthodoxy synonymous with ignorance.—*Erasmus*

A State without the means of change is without the means of its conservation.—*Edmund Burke*

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SIGNS OF THE TIMES

Dr. Major

Our first and sorrowful duty is to record here, under the heading that he made so peculiarly his own, the death of Henry Dewsbury Alves Major, the founder of this journal and its editor for forty-six years. To many he was best known as the commentator of *Signs of the Times*, which was inevitably the first item to be perused as each number of the *Modern Churchman* arrived; and indeed not a few subscribed to it primarily in order that they might read his observations on matters sacred and secular which were of concern to him as a Christian and a devout and devoted son of the English Church. It was this aspect of his character —his deep and abiding love for *Ecclesia Anglicana*—which was always to the fore even when he seemed to be most critical of what was being said and done in its name. He could hit hard, but it was without rancour, and there was never any doubt, such was the clarity of his writing, at what he was hitting. To know the controversialist was to know only a part, and that much the smaller part, of a great and good man. What he meant to generations of his pupils and those who knew him well will be conveyed in some degree by the tributes to be found later in this issue. On behalf of all readers of the *Modern Churchman*, as of ourselves, we extend to Mrs. Major and her family our condolences.

Staff College or Training College

The welcome news published at the end of 1960 that nearly 600 men were ordained last year has naturally raised the problem of training facilities for new entrants to the Ministry. Statistics made available by C.A.C.T.M. in September 1960 showed that between 40 and 50 men were being trained in 'temporary' theological colleges, that the number accommodated in permanent Anglican theological colleges was 179 more

than in 1955/56, and that probably as many as 50 men were being prevented from entering on training by shortage of places. Considering that most of us have been fed for years on news about 'dying ministries' and half-empty theological colleges, the figures are extremely encouraging. And if one must look over one's neighbour's wall, they compare very well with ordinations in Italy. *The Times* reported on 14 November 1960 a rather dismal tale of over-age priests, lack of ordinations (two only in the Pope's old diocese of Bergamo, and one in Bologna during 1959), apostacies, and clergy eking out a bare existence on £190 per annum, and no family life. So, we have reason to be thankful. Once more the Jeremiahs have been proved wrong.

The claims put forward by C.A.C.T.M. for a new theological college are very strong, but an equally pressing need must not be overlooked, namely, a college for advanced training of clergy who have had already some years of parish or teaching experience. The last thing we need is just another college, where graduates are taken once more over the book learning they should have absorbed at the university. Many men have complained, with justice, that at present their training is not fully relevant to the missionary situation of the world to-day. More time, it is urged, should be given to the approach to the younger Churches, to dogmatics, to 'frontier problems' connected with psychology, social services and, as Bishop Lilje of Hanover has added, to the challenge presented by space research. These are necessities, but the moment for that type of training would seem to be after some experience in parish work. For until that has been acquired, even the best instruction in 'practical theology' must be 'on paper' only.

If the Church Assembly can find the necessary funds for a new theological college, we would suggest, therefore, first it should be in the nature of a Staff College for clergy, whether or not they possess formal academic qualifications. Secondly, that this college should be sited in a city which has a civic university (Manchester is an obvious choice). This provides the best chance of seeing the existing missionary situation in this country, quite apart from any help to be expected from the teaching staff, or library facilities. In consequence, thirdly, that the problem of new extrants should be faced by the expansion of existing facilities, particularly in the dioceses. This will give a chance to the diocesan theological colleges to acquire higher standing than they now possess. The existence of a Staff College for Clergy would serve notice on the ordinand that G.O.E. is not the be all and end all of his vocation.

Imprimaturs for Dons

Censorship is always deplorable. It undermines intellectual honesty. It tends to demoralise those who apply it, as well as those to whom it is applied. In wartime it may be a necessary evil, but rightly enough,

academic freedom and freedom of the Press have been for the past two centuries among the most jealously prized liberties of the subject in the United Kingdom. Long before that even, in the time of Wycliffe, the University of Oxford resisted the intervention of external ecclesiastical authorities in their affairs. It was not surprising, therefore, that the appearance of a *Nihil Obstat . . . Imprimatur* on the fly-leaf of Professor M. C. Knowles' *The English Mystical Tradition* should have aroused adverse comment from *The Times* reviewer.

The correspondence that followed brought out two issues: first, the difficulty which faces anyone who tries to serve two masters, especially if one of these is the Roman Catholic Church and the other devotion to the pursuit of historical truth; and the second, always in the background, the attitude of some Roman Catholics to the traditions and liberties of this country. Regarding the first point, the problems that continuously confront the individual Roman Catholic writer have been accentuated of late by an increased appetite for work among the Westminster censors. An era of full employment evidently means full employment for them too. It was clear that while sometimes the *Imprimatur* was required merely as a sort of Cert. U for convent reading, it was reported also that there was officious and pettifogging interference in the text of scholars' articles, such as those submitted for publication in *Language and Worship*.

Censorship was shown to have its positive side as well. In March 1958, one writer alleged, an unpublished diocesan decree gave notice that the Westminster censors would refuse an *Imprimatur* for any book which failed to spell biblical names in conformity with the Douai version. The ultimate object was, of course, to weaken the hold which the A.V. and R.V. have retained even on Roman Catholics, and thus more power to the censors. Roman Catholic publishing houses have also been pressing the necessity of an *Imprimatur* on Roman Catholic laymen (and even in some cases, it would appear, non-Roman Catholics). There were to be no lapses among the faithful. Thus, even though censorship has descended to the level of a farce in many instances, it has become an increasing threat to standards of academic integrity. And, if a Regius Professor accepts censorship, what chance is there for lesser men to refuse?

Moreover, it was significant that, as one correspondent (Mr. Campbell Rose) pointed out, 'among all the Roman apologetics' no trace could be found of the idea that censorship was 'always regrettable even when it is unavoidable'. Indeed, one of the most serious features of the correspondence was the emergence of educated people who were prepared to accept censorship as a matter of course, as though 500 years of English history had not happened. These rather than the conservatives in the Roman Curia are the real opponents of the Anglican Communion and all it stands for. They could find their city in Moscow as well as in Rome.

Against this background, one can only feel the greatest sympathy for

the Regius Professor himself; 'one of the greatest living men of English historical scholarship' (as a non-Catholic, Professor Clinton Rossiter, rightly described him). Part of the difficulty lay no doubt with the structure and title of his work. It is a series of lectures, given to an academic audience, expanding and bringing up to date an earlier work on English mystics. It covers, however, only a limited period, extending from the mid-fourteenth to the mid-seventeenth century. It is in fact 'some aspects of the Catholic mystical tradition' in England. If it had been advertised as 'Lenten reading for Roman Catholics', *The Times* reviewer would no doubt have taken a different stand. But the reader of a work entitled *The English Mystical Tradition* by a Regius Professor of History might expect to find a more comprehensive account of English mysticism, extending from Anselm, through the Reformation, to Wesley, Cowper, and Blake. The pre-Reformation and Reformation traditions both have their place. Would such a work have required either an *Imprimatur* or a Roman Catholic publisher?

In the last resort, *The Times* reviewer was correct. If humility before one's religious superiors is a Christian virtue, so too is moral courage. And this may be said to every *Imprimatur*-minded teacher. In the New Testament, readiness to 'speak with authority, and not as the scribes', to preach the Gospel fearlessly, if necessary 'to stop the mouths of lions' are among the most obvious demands of the Lord upon his followers. The Sermon on the Mount was not first sent, as far as is known, to Caiaphas for his comments. In short, one must represent the position one holds in one's chosen field. The outlook and spirit of Acton is required of a Roman Catholic historian.

Heresy at Erlangen

This country is not the only place where the rights of a Church to discipline its members has come under scrutiny. There seem to have been some extraordinary goings-on recently in the quiet university town of Erlangen in Bavaria. Normally, no one would associate Professor Ethelbert Stauffer with a charge of heresy. The writer of *New Testament Theology* and *Christ and the Caesars* has always appeared to be a model of exact scholarship, who combined orthodoxy with an original and imaginative approach to the history of the early Church. The originality, however, seems to have been too much for some of his colleagues. On 23 February, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* published a long report of the professor's difficulties. Three of his colleagues, professors of Systematic Theology, had written him an Open Letter published in a Lutheran Church paper in which his views on the Pauline epistles were held to be incompatible with Lutheran orthodoxy. The professor has returned the compliment with a tract entitled 'Jesus, Paul and Us'. What with Bultmann's demythologization and Stauffer's *Realtheologie*, it is

perhaps high time that someone put the middle-of-the-road view, but to accuse one's colleagues of heresy, and face them with enforced resignation of Orders and professorial Chair seems to go too far. Gamaliel gave his colleagues better advice. The last half-century has shown how fearless and uninhibited scholarship has deepened our understanding of Scripture. The Scrolls might have lit the camp fires of the Bedouin had it not been for a century and a half of dogma-free Biblical criticism. The world was therefore ready for the new advance when it came. Surely the same age can make sense of Stauffer.

South Africa

'There is a tide in the affairs of men . . . ' Never, perhaps, in time of peace has a British Government been faced with so sad and yet so obvious a decision. On the one hand, Dr. Verwoerd's request that the Republic of South Africa should retain her place in the Commonwealth, and his presence at the conference to put the case, was a sign that the old, unhappy quarrel between Boer and Briton was being finally laid to rest. For here was a lifelong opponent of the British connection, one who during both World Wars had been an embittered adversary of the Allied cause, and yet had come to the conclusion that the link with the Commonwealth was worth preserving, and was acting on that decision. No wonder the South African Opposition had wished him 'God speed', for on this single issue he was carrying the support, for one reason or another, of the overwhelming majority of the peoples of South Africa. On the other hand, Dr. Verwoerd's decision implied for him no change in *apartheid*. In fact, if his request had been granted, it could have been interpreted as in some way placing Commonwealth sanction upon his policy. And if ever there was a policy which religion, morality and self-interest were at one in condemning, it was that of racial segregation in the world we live in (for on such issues we must be rid of self-righteousness and see things as they are).

It was the anachronism, as well as the immorality, of *apartheid* that rendered fruitless Dr. Verwoerd's attempts to point out the beams in his colleague's eyes. Theirs were problems which contemporaries recognized as actual, and capable of fair solution. His was not. Seen in historical perspective, *apartheid* has been the almost universal reaction of an invading settler population towards inhabitants of different race and on a lower level of culture than itself. It has tarnished the story of the westward expansion of the American people in the century that followed the Treaty of Paris in 1763. Where, Dr. Verwoerd could have asked, are the Iroquois, the Choctaws, the Cherokees and the Sioux today? In Australia, quite apart from the White Australia policy, the oborigines have often received short shrift from the settlers, and by 1877 the last Tasmanian

native had died. In New Zealand, the middle years of the nineteenth century saw fierce wars between white settler and Maori.

But all this belongs to the past. Industrialisation, the interdependence of the peoples of the world, growth of world population, and the rise in cultural standards among Black and Coloured have made nonsense of *apartheid* as a practical policy. The offenders of the nineteenth century have mended their ways. South Africa has failed to recognize the warning signals, even those from her own official records. The most recent South African census has revealed a large increase and not a decrease in the numbers of non-whites residing in 'white' urban areas—and that after twelve years of Nationalist rule. She has failed to measure up to her responsibility as the most advanced industrial country in Africa, and there can be no going back to Uitlander days.

Moreover, whatever else may be said against British colonial policy, it has steadily and at cost to itself striven to protect native interests against cruel and rapacious elements among the frontier settlers. Again, the case of the Thirteen Colonies may be quoted. The Quebec Act on the one hand, and refusal to conciliate the southern frontiersmen on the other, were decisive influences in the loss of the middle and southern colonies to the British Crown. And in South Africa, the same resolve contributed vastly throughout the nineteenth century to the steady deterioration of Boer-British relations. To have gone back on this policy now, even for the sake of improving these relations, would have been to deny the bases of our policy, a policy on which the Commonwealth had been founded. Speedy disintegration would have been the result.

We believe, then, that once Dr. Verwoerd had refused rights even to the Coloured people of South Africa, no lasting compromise was possible. His disavowal of Dr. Sauer's 'New Deal' speech was his last word. Like the American Civil War, fought ultimately over almost the same issue a century ago, the conflict had become 'irrepressible'. There was no sense in papering over the cracks. But as a result, the Commonwealth is no longer a 'club', and its conferences meetings of elderly statesmen for old time's sake. It now stands for moral principles, for which tremendous sacrifice has been made and which the simplest can appreciate. In the modern world there can be 'neither Jew nor Greek, bond or free'. The Commonwealth represents this truth. It has emerged as a moral force of great significance at a decisive moment in the history of mankind. For the peoples of South Africa the door will always remain open.

The New English Bible

The appearance, just 350 years after the Authorized Version, of the New Testament in the New English Bible has been greeted with extraordinary interest and publicity, as was to be expected. The Bible in the Authorized Version has for long been the 'best seller' among the English

speaking peoples, and the demand for this new translation has outstripped even the expectations of the two University Presses which have sponsored it. Indeed, as an enterprise in modern book-production it cannot be too highly praised, both in respect of type and format and also on grounds of cheapness. It is a fact, we believe, that in bulk alone (apart from its superior quality of print and paper), the smaller edition gives much better value for money than even the paper-back publishers can offer, and with good hard covers thrown in. There can be no complaint that the new version of the Scriptures is beyond the means of Tyndale's ploughboy or his modern counterpart.

The composition of the committee of translators, under the leadership of Dr. C. H. Dodd, guarantees this version as a major work in modern New Testament scholarship, though no doubt on details of rendering and of text adopted the learned reviews, as they appear, will draw attention to possible improvements. The translation, however, is not made in the first instance for the scholarly world, but for the man in the pew, for the man in the street who rarely or never enters a church, and for the child in our schools for whom religious instruction from the Bible is part of the syllabus. It cannot be gainsaid that the Authorized Version, with all its incomparable diction, draws a veil of archaism over the sacred text. A fresh attempt to render the Bible in language which is contemporary and, as far as the subject-matter allows, is easily understood, may do much to breach the barriers of numb familiarity on the one hand, and ignorance or indifference on the other. We can only hope that the most optimistic claims of its sponsors will be fulfilled.

It is, of course, on the side of its modernity in vocabulary and style that it has been both praised and blamed. If we had supposed that ecclesiastical comment would be only cautiously welcoming and the lay reaction enthusiastic, the actual reception has been rather otherwise. With a few exceptions (notably that of the Bishop of Sodor and Man, who according to one newspaper headline 'bans the new Bible'—his actual words were more restrained) bishops and church leaders, as well as lesser clergy and ministers, have been almost embarrassingly fulsome, while it is the lay reviewers who have been most critical. Of some of those who have shed most tears for the Authorized Version one may wonder, perhaps, how often they are in the habit of reading it. Others blame the new version for not having eschewed entirely the influence of King James or the Grand Style. 'Company directors' English', 'journalistic', an 'uneasy but confident mixture of prim colloquiality, timid, daring, and old-fashioned literariness', 'often limpid, it sometimes decidedly limps'—are some of the accusations thrown at it from this side. These and worse were to be expected, and even if in some instances justified, need cause dejection to the translators only if they were under the delusion that they were doing their work for all time. There is no such thing

as 'timeless English', though the phrase has been used to describe the aim of the translation. The only sure means of discovering its adequacy both to the message of the New Testament and the needs of our generation is that of constant use in public and private reading. Eventually the work will have to be done again. If, in the meantime, this new form of the Scriptures achieves its purpose in bringing not simply the Bible, but the religion of the Bible, back into the hearts and minds of English people, those responsible for it can wish no more.

At the same time, natural curiosity would dearly like to be informed on one point. This is the first English Bible to have had a kind of midwife in the shape of a panel of literary advisers, whose function is to scrutinize and where necessary amend the translators' diction before it is presented to the world. It would be interesting to have, in the case of the New Testament, some examples of what the advisers have saved us from—and have committed the translators to. It may be that all the alleged shortcomings are not to be laid at the translators' door. We suspect, however, that our curiosity is likely to remain unsatisfied.

IN MEMORIAM

HENRY DEWSBURY ALVES MAJOR, 1871—1961

Principal of Ripon Hall, Oxford, 1919—1948
Editor of *The Modern Churchman*, 1911—1957

I

The substance of an address delivered by the Rev. W. G. Fallows, M.A., Principal of Ripon Hall, Oxford at the funeral service at Merton Parish Church on Tuesday 31 January 1961.

For many of us here today Henry Dewsbury Alves Major has been the greatest single influence in our lives. For all of us he has been a shining example of Christian devotion. In this service, as we commend him to the arms of a loving Creator, we thank God that we have walked with greatness—for it is no extravagance to call him great. It was not so much what he taught as what he was—and yet he was what he taught and he taught what he was.

The Gospel of Freedom, the title he used for his first book, remained his constant theme through the years. He was a pioneer among those who, in the English Church, worked for the reconciliation of modern knowledge and the Christian faith. He had the courage to lead. No one will ever know how many there were whose faith might otherwise have been shattered, and whose allegiance to the Church of England—not least in the ranks of the Ministry—might have been lost had it not been for the help and inspiration of Henry Dewsbury Alves Major.

It we seek a phrase that sums him up, surely it would be that triad—the moral, the rational, and the spiritual—which was always on his lips because it was written on his heart. When we mimicked him—as affectionately we often did—we used to make play with these words, each of which, in isolation, is incomplete, but in harmony they take us to the heart of the Christian religion as he lived it and taught it. It was the essence of his teaching as it was the esssence of the man.

His public life was a life of conflict—a conflict against obscurantism and a conflict against those who—in the words of one of his favourite quotations from Richard Baxter 'are always making more fundamentals than God ever made'. In all his conflict he was a model controversialist. Certainly in his hand the pen was mightier than the sword, and his writings, if often trenchant, never bore a trace of acrimony or bitterness. I once heard him described as 'the most pilloried cleric in the Church of England'. Yet no son of the English Church had a greater reverence for it or a deeper devotion to it. And so, as Mr. Valiant for Truth passes over to the other side we salute today a great English Churchman.

It is a sad reflection on our Church that it treated him with such scant recognition. With his learning, his literary grace, his historical and anti-

quarian interests, his business ability, and above all his engaging charm of manner, how well and with what distinction he would have filled the deanery of one of our ancient cathedrals. Not that he ever sought recognition or ever cared about it. It was indeed the true mark of his greatness as a Christian that it never entered his head. What is so surprising is that it never seems to have entered anyone else's head. He honoured the Church he loved; the Church he loved did little to honour him. This *enfant terrible*—as he seemed to some—was, to all who knew him, one of the Master's truest disciples. Of course he was honoured, honoured in the devotion and admiration of those (and there were many) who drew their inspiration from him. But he himself would have repudiated even that honour so conspicuously free was he from every trace of vanity.

We might sum him up by recalling today the three names by which he was generally known. To a large circle he was Doctor Major, the Editor of *The Modern Churchman,* the platform he built for himself and from which his message echoed through the length and breadth of the land. So, too, he was Doctor Major at those summer conferences which he organized and to which he drew many distinguished scholars and contributors of important studies in the life and witness of the Church. So, too, he was Doctor Major in this small parish of Merton, where for so many years he fulfilled—to the surprise of many but not to those who really knew him—a distinguished and fruitful ministry.

There was a second name by which he was known—Henry. This was the name his students used among themselves when speaking of him. It is the name of the Principal of Ripon Hall. I sometimes ask myself what was the secret of his great Principalship. It was not primarily his teaching, fresh and stimulating and vigorous as that was. But the secret of his greatness as Principal was his reverence—reverence for the person and teaching of our Lord. To be present with him when he was the Celebrant at the Holy Communion was a memorable experience. It was this reverence for the person of Jesus Christ that manifested itself in those many courtesies which made him the man he was.

There was yet a third name by which he was known—the name Hal. This was the name used by Mary, his devoted wife, who meant so much to him, who was in fact his eyes and ears, and without whom he could have achieved nothing. Those of us who saw this partnership of Mary and Hal at close quarters will always count it one of the greatest privileges of our lives. Theirs indeed was one of the outstanding partnerships in the Christian ministry. So we remember Mary, his wife, in our prayers today, as we also remember his daughter and son-in-law who cared for and watched over them both with such loving devotion in these declining years. May God the Holy Spirit fill the vacant place in their lives and in their home as they rejoice with us in the communion of the saints and the resurrection to life everlasting through Jesus Christ our Lord.

II

By the Rev. J. S. Bezzant, B.D., Dean of St. John's College, Cambridge

Readers of the *Modern Churchman* will not need, in a memorial article on the passing of its founder and, until fairly recently, its owner and Editor, a record of his services to what he described as English Modernism. Neither of persons nor for the magazine would he use 'Liberal', on account of its political association. He well knew that other churchmen were 'modern' if not 'Modernist', but always insisted upon using 'Modernism' as evidence that if the rather different theology so described in its Roman Catholic form had been suppressed, its spirit, attitude and methods of commending Christian faith and belief survived in the Church of England.

Had Henry Dewsbury Alves Major lived a few months longer the days of his age would have reached four score years and ten. He died on 26 January, and in its 'Obituary' two days later *The Times* said that the Church of England had 'lost one of its great controversialists and the last of its clergy to be charged with heresy'. Whether the 'eschatological' reference (the adjective has become a cliché over-ripe for ridicule) will be 'realized' or not remains to be seen: a controversialist he was, not because he wished to be, but because he accepted controversy with zest when thrust upon him in urging or defending the cause he championed —the greatest possible freedom of interpretation of Christian doctrine and its restatement so as to reduce the conflict between it and modern knowledge and thought; and he was always ready to defend others devoted to the same purpose, whether or not he agreed with their personal opinions. The same Obituary said that the Church had also lost

> a revered and saintly character who was greatly loved by generations of students at Ripon Hall where he was Principal from 1919 to 1948.

Nothing more true could have been written. It was recognized by all who knew him personally, including those strongly opposed to his views. Even in his prime, his eyesight and hearing were seriously defective, and a relatively early greying of the mop of hair on his large head, together gave an impression of age beyond his years; and while I was his Vice-Principal in Oxford I was often asked by persons very much on 'another side', 'And how is dear old Major?' Like many others, with a pen in his hand he gave an impression immediately corrected on meeting him, and those to whom he was something of an ogre often felt some issue of identity arose when they met the quiet, rather shy, soft-speaking, easily embarrassed but always courteous and kindly man, apparently with nothing to do (though his large writing table could have provided the original for the lawyer's in *Bleak House*), who often astonished visitors whom, in writing, he would have called 'traditionalists', by commending to them

some fact or other consideration which he knew to support their theological outlook but of which they had never heard, prefaced by 'As you will remember . . . ' His enthusiasm was matched by his patience, and it was prudent not to call on him if one had another pending engagement.

I first met him for no worthier reason than wanting somewhere to live on having to go out of college. At that time, Ripon Hall was in Parks Road, and had hardly 'got going' after the first world war. Though an ordinand, I had no interest in theological controversy and knew next to nothing about it. I entered Ripon Hall, not as a member of it as a Theological College (though I later became such) but as a 'resident', the status of half of those then sheltered under its roof. We were a motley assembly, as perhaps we should still be—Norman Sykes, Charles Jenkinson, Eltoft, R. D. Richardson, James Parkes, W. H. B. Somerset (one of the librarians at the Bodleian, called 'the faithful layman') and, as one born out of due time, myself—later to be joined by J. C. Hardwick as Chaplain. There were others whose names I omit, not being sure that they would like being described as constitutive of a motley assembly.

In the Principal I at once knew myself to be in the presence of a great and good man whom I became privileged to know more intimately than I had ever known any comparable person. His immense and varied knowledge on all matters of intelligent conversation, often revealed unself-consciously at our common meals, not only impressed but appalled me. 'So foolish was I and ignorant' of actualities, that for long I thought I could never hope to attain to what an Anglican clergyman ought to be; and though I have not attained it, no one so inspired me to try to attain it as 'Henry' (or 'Father' as he was affectionately, if humorously and secretly, called) did without being aware of it. He never made the least effort to influence my theological opinions, except to impress upon me the importance of knowing and understanding what classical Christian orthodoxy is and is not. He always encouraged my respect for my tutor, the late Dr. N. P. Williams, then about as far removed from Major's theological position as led C. D. Broad to observe about F. R. Tennant and Kierkegaard that if in the heavenly Father's house there were many mansions, it was to be hoped that their respective apartments were situate in the extreme opposite ends of the edifice. 'Henry' always said about 'Nippy' that he was 'an honest man: *if* he moves, the *whole of him* moves'. And my tutor used to dismiss me at the end of our hour together, having reduced me almost to tears by tearing my laborious essay to shreds, with 'Give my regards to Dr. Major.' 'Henry' was sparing both of personal criticisms and compliments: one came to realize that 'a good man' meant that he did not rate him highly; 'a good *sound* man' was high praise, indicating one not hostile to 'Modernism'; while 'a *really* good, *sound* man', said with emphasis and often accompanied by taking one's arm, was reserved for few. Of contemporary eminent ecclesiastics, he revered

Rashdall highest and Hensley Henson least. He held that in the controversy which Henson's nomination as Bishop of Hereford provoked, Henson should have told the Archbishop that he stood by his published utterances and have refused to make any statement, other than by law required, such as was proposed by the Archbishop in order to placate Gore and others. To intimates he would repeat the story that when someone asked Rashdall what Henson meant when he affirmed that when he repeated the Creeds he did so *ex animo*, Rashdall replied, 'He can only have meant that he was "out of his mind".' Kirsopp Lake, in relating the incident, has a footnote to *ex animo*, saying that he does not translate the phrase, as he is uncertain of Dr. Henson's meaning, and that he can only suggest '*cum grano salis*' as a synonym. Accepting Henson's explanation of his action as sincere, one cannot avoid a feeling that it was also a little pathetic, and most people would share Major's conviction that he could never again feel the same confidence in Henson, though Henson's subsequent attitude to 'Modernism' is consistent with the view that the assurance he then gave was sincere.

I had been ordained only a few months when I received an invitation from Major to become Vice-Principal of Ripon Hall. I was curate at Hartlebury, in which is the castle of that name where the Bishop of Worcester lives. Dr. E. H. Pearce was initially opposed to me returning to Oxford within a few months of being made deacon. In him, Major met his equal in argument. The Bishop told Major that I should have longer parochial experience. Major replied by giving Pearce a list of contemporary Bishops, admittedly first-class, who had had no parochial experience. The Bishop answered, admitting the truth of Major's contention but adding, 'if you had made a list of bishops of the second or third class, it might have included myself'. The Bishop showed me this letter with a kindly smile, saying, 'You can accept from the date when I ordain you priest—and if my examining chaplains set you an examination, treat them kindly.' I accepted, and there ensued some years of unvarying kindness during which Major treated me as though I were more important than he was, a bit of make-believe which I knew to be absurd—an attitude quickly justified on the few occasions when I differed from him. He made me responsible for the extremely mild discipline of the Hall; but he could not believe that any young man who chose Ripon Hall as his Theological College could be other than 'a good man'; and mature reflection has convinced me that this kindly error led him to palm off on some bishops candidates who ought never to have been ordained.

Ripon Hall was Major's life. And here, and not as a polite tail-piece, it should be said that Mrs. Major's co-operation enabled him to do as much for it as he could have done had he been unmarried. She knew all about it, but never intervened. Her support, in every respect, was unqualified except that she would, occasionally, comment with acidulated

truth upon some of its students, knowing that it would have no effect. In term-time she seldom saw her husband except on Saturday and Sunday afternoons and evenings, when he would take with him two or more students of the Hall to his homes, first at Kennington, then at Eastleach Turville, and finally at Merton Vicarage, where they might stay overnight and assist with the Sunday services. Students would be received there for a few days' rest after being unwell. Mrs. Major also generally read the proofs of the *Modern Churchman* and for several of the latter years read to him when his sight made it impossible for him to read, and with her own hand wrote his letters at his dictation. She also often played the harmonium in Merton church and he conducted services and 'read' lessons which he could not see but knew 'by heart'. No man could have had a more devoted partner.

The 1938 Report of the Doctrinal Commission Major rightly regarded as recognizing as legitimate in the Church of England the position for which he had long contended. The 'Signs of the Times' in his magazine were nearly all his own work, and he frequently wrote articles for it. Its motto, appearing on its cover—'By identifying the new learning with heresy, you make orthodoxy synonymous with ignorance'—was attributed to Erasmus, but no one could find it in that scholar's writings. Whenever Major's attention was called to this, his characteristic reply was that if Erasmus did not say it, he would have done so had he thought of it and, if not, then he ought to have thought it! He was the life and soul of the annual conferences of Modern Churchmen and the mainspring of the Modern Churchmen's Union. His Noble Lectures, *English Modernism*, provide the best summary of his position and ideals. His frequent pronouncements that 'Modernists hold' this, that and the other, often brought protests from those no less 'Modernist' than himself that they held nothing of the kind, and led to the suspicion that he desired to establish a 'Modernist' orthodoxy. He was adept at getting his own way in everything with which he was concerned, with few departures from gentleness, though in doing so he was often not over-scrupulous.

Honesty requires a word which I regret. He remained Principal of Ripon Hall after his physical defects made it impossible for him to be as effective as the changed conditions during the last years required, and students who had not known him earlier sometimes failed to appreciate his greatness as those did who knew him before his powers began to fail. When he resigned the Principalship, his immediate successor was probably his most admiring and devoted disciple and a man of his own choice; but as a governor of the Hall and its treasurer he continued, in my judgment, to intervene in its day-to-day affairs in ways and to a degree such as he himself, while Principal, would not for a moment have tolerated from any governor or from the whole body of them. In the ensuing troubles I felt bound strenuously to oppose him, to my immense regret. Nothing re-

vealed his true Christian greatness more than his refusal to allow my attitude to terminate our long-standing friendship. This was also manifest in his attitude to the late K. E. Kirk, who in 1937 became his Bishop. He had long regarded Kirk as an able, dangerous and casuistical opponent; but I have a letter from him in which he refers to Kirk's visit to his tiny parish of Merton, in which he wrote that he had never known a Confirmation more admirably conducted or heard a better address to simple country parishioners; and Kirk recognized no less the good work Major was doing, his physical disabilities notwithstanding, among the farmers and their employees to whom he and Mrs. Major ministered. No one who knew him either could or would wish to withhold his tribute to him as a most genuine Christian gentleman.

NORMAN SYKES, F.B.A.

The recent death at a comparatively early age of the Dean of Winchester, Dr. Norman Sykes, will have come as a profound shock to all readers of this journal, to which he was a frequent contributor, and to members of the Modern Churchmen's Union, of which for many years he was a Vice-President. A more extended notice of his contributions to Church History, and to the cause of liberal theology in the Church of England, will appear in our next issue.

C. E. SEAMER

The Modern Churchmen's Union has lost by death one of its oldest members, the Rev. C. E. Seamer, Rector of West with East Shefford in the diocese of Oxford from 1946 to 1953 and before that for over thirty years vicar of a country parish in Somerset. A country clergyman of a type which is becoming somewhat rare he kept himself abreast of all the developments of theology and scholarship and shared all the activities and interests of his neighbours. He attended all the conferences up to 1959, although he was never active with either tongue or pen. While I was away in America in 1956 he undertook the charge of the parish here and in two months had gained a host of friends leaving behind the reputation of a reasonable faith, a warm heart, and practical piety.

H. C. Snape, Vicar of Whalley.

GEORGE TYRRELL, 1861—1961

By the Rev. B. M. G. Reardon, M.A.

'The life of Father Tyrrell', it has been remarked, 'is at once a study of temperament and a chapter in contemporary Church history.'[1] With the occurrence this year of the Irish-born Jesuit's centenary we realize the extent to which the contemporaneity of the history in which he played his not inconspicuous rôle has ceased to be. Tyrrell died at Storrington, in Sussex, in 1909, and the days of his troubled career belong to the now almost unimaginable past of Edwardian solidity. It was an age when religious problems could still focus the attention of the educated public and the pronouncements of a bishop be accorded the respect due to a generally acknowledged authority. Hence the intellectual controversies of the time have about them an air of both gravity and broad import which tends to make ours today seem hardly more than *affairs de coterie*. And the Modernist movement which, during the first decade of the present century, may fairly be said to have shaken even so deeply-founded an institution as the Roman Church, raised issues which no Christian believer, of whatever communion, who took his faith seriously, could or would have wished to ignore. As one re-reads the literature of Modernism one is conscious of the fact that these writings are addressed not merely to a small minority of the professionally interested but to all earnest seekers after truth. Ruefully conscious, one is tempted to add; for we in this generation may, in some regards, be more sophisticated, but our refinements are of concern to an ever-diminishing number.

Tyrrell's life, however, is also, we must allow, a notable study of temperament. The man was, as we say, a 'character'—sensitive, impetuous, pugnacious, quixotic. But because of his personal qualities he may, like Newman himself, succeed in compelling interest when the theological controversies and ecclesiastical disputes in which he was involved have become —if they are not so already—the mere curiosities of a vanished era. In this centenary year his *Autobiography* and its accompanying volume, the *Life*, compiled by his friend and patron, Miss Petre, well deserve re-perusal for the light they throw upon the mind of one in whom, endowed as he was with much intellectual acumen, the gift of articulate utterance and a disposition for which religious belief in general and Catholicism in particular provided an indispensable moral climate, the problem of faith and reason acquired the urgency of a vital spiritual experience.[2]

George Tyrrell was born in Dublin on 6 February 1861, and brought up in the Church of Ireland. At the age of seventeen he became very friendly with Robert Dolling, then still a layman. A year later he arrived in London, had little difficulty, it seems, in making up his mind that the substance of Roman Catholicism was to be preferred to the shadow of

[1] Alfred Fawkes, *Studies in Modernism* (1913), p. 1.

[2] London: Edward Arnold, 1912.

its Anglican copy, and after a brief and perfunctory 'instruction' was admitted to the Roman Church on Sunday 18 May 1879. He had entered the 'old firm' carrying on the 'old business in the old ways', from which he never finally withdrew his loyalty. But despite Tyrrell's youth he was not merely callow. As Fawkes says, 'ritualism of the shop-boy type repelled him'. Even in Ireland the Catholic worship he had seen offended him: 'rude and barbaric', he thought it, its priests 'coarse and vulgar', the whole 'most disenchanting'.[3] Moreover, 'his analysing intensity, his truth-chasing capacity'—in his friend Canon C. E. Osborne's words—soon showed itself. 'Catholic' feelings and pious observances alone would not satisfy. He must needs go the entire way, become a Jesuit, first doing some probationary teaching for the Order in Cyprus and Malta. He entered on his novitiate in September 1880. The long training continued over the ensuing years, until in 1891 he was ordained priest. Parish work followed; then the Chair in Philosophy at St. Mary's Hall, Stonyhurst. Here it was that his difficulties with authority first seriously began.[4] He had become a keen Thomist, whereas Thomism—the pure water—was at that time still a good deal scouted in the Order in favour of Suarezianism. Aquinas, Tyrrell afterwards wrote, 'was essentially liberal-minded and sympathetic'. His feeling was that, under cover of Thomist doctrine, 'much might have been quietly introduced and assimilated unconsciously' which would have been opposed 'if presented in an alien and hostile garb.'[5] But his aims were disapproved and he was soon relieved of his charge, being sent to Farm Street to join the staff of writers there, on the strength of his having already contributed a number of articles to *The Month,* the English Jesuit periodical.

It was his first book, *Nova et Vetera* (1897), which attracted the attention of von Hügel, through whose wide learning and personal culture he was to behold new horizons of thought, both philosophical and historical. It proved the most important friendship of his life. Tyrrell quickly became aware of the debt he owed and in what direction its influence might impel him. 'Every time I meet you or hear from you', he wrote, 'I am pushed on a little further.'[6] But the Jesuit's 'modernism' was not the mushroom growth of a night's cogitation. He first passed through a liberalizing phase, akin to Wilfrid Ward's position. The two volumes of *The Faith of the Millions* (1901), in tone critical and urbane, are unimpeachably orthodox, even though here and there certain premonitory

[3] *Life,* I, p. 135.

[4] There had already been uneasiness with his novice-master, Father Morris, who had warned him that, 'If you do not leave now you will only give the Society trouble later on'. Tyrrell's subsequent comment could not but be: 'Morris was right after all'. See *Life,* I, p. 231.

[5] *Life,* II, p. 45.

[6] *Life,* II, p. 95.

signs are detectable of what was to come later. His maturer views, however, received much clearer expression in *Lex Orandi* (1903) and its sequel, *Lex Credendi* (1905). In the former he deals with the relationship of theology to prayer, finding the criterion of doctrine in its prayer-value. A 'Creed', he holds, 'has representative truth so far as it constantly and universally fosters the Spirit-life.'[7] It is 'Christian devotion rather than Christian metaphysics, the need of the soul rather than the need of the intellect, that has selected the orthodox faith in preference to heterodox error.'[8] Moral truth, accordingly, is more fittingly lived than analysed. Although certain concrete historical facts belong to the creed as matters of faith, yet 'precisely as historical facts they concern the historian and must be criticized by his methods'. 'As matters of faith they must be determined by the criterion of faith, i.e. by their proved religious value.'[9]

Shortly after the publication of *Lex Credendi* Tyrrell ceased to be a member of the Society of Jesus. The story of his breach with the Order is soberly told by Miss Petre. His dissatisfaction with his position therein was indeed of long standing, although the formal rupture was occasioned by the famous 'Letter to a Professor'—an imaginery attempt to deal with the difficulties of an individual's faith—a somewhat garbled account of which had found its way into the Italian press on 31 December, 1905.[10] Actual dismissal came less than two months later, his last mass being said on 14 February, 1906. To the General himself Tyrrell wrote: 'I should like to assure you, now that I stand outside the Society, how completely I realise that we have both of us been driven to this unpleasant issue by the necessities of our several minds and consciences; and your Paternity still more by the consequences of a most difficult position.'[11] In fact the Society had treated him with no little forbearance, and certainly without any persecuting intent. But Tyrrell himself, intellectually restless and a vigorous polemist—witness the splendid indignation of his rhetorical (and not altogether fair) attack on Cardinal Mercier[12]—was never the man to disregard occasions of offence or return a soft answer. After his dismissal, however, his ecclesiastical status was anomalous. He was certainly not excommunicate, but he could not celebrate mass. Attempts to regularize his position, moreover, were unsuccessful, and for the remaining years of his life his relations with official Catholicism steadily deteriorated. The sense of a mission to 'reform' the Catholic Church grew upon him. 'I feel my work', he wrote towards the end of 1907, 'is to hammer away

[7] *Lex Credendi*, p. 253.
[8] *Lex Orandi*, p. 153.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 169.
[10] See *A Much-Abused Letter* (1906), containing the full text, with the author's introduction and notes.
[11] *Life*, II, p. 254.
[12] *Mediaevalism* (1908).

at the great unwieldy carcase of the Roman Communion and wake it up from its mediaeval dreams. Not that I shall succeed, but that my failure and many another may pave the way for eventual success.'[13]

It was in this final period that he produced his two most remarkable books, *Through Scylla and Charybdis* (1907) and the posthumous *Christianity at the Cross Roads* (1909). In the former, he declared, he had thrown his cards on the table; though the section, 'Reflections on Catholicism', remains what Fawkes said it was—'perhaps the most subtle apologetic for Romanism ever penned'.[14] The whole book, indeed, allowing for its quite unsystematic form as a collection of papers most of which had already seen print, is a brilliant apologetic enterprise. The 'old theology', with its dogmatic rigidity, would no longer serve; but neither could the 'new' in so far as it might prove to be a solvent of all dogmatic truth. Both perils had to be avoided—whence the volume's title. His purpose was to draw a clear distinction between revelation and theology, fact and prophecy. *Christianity at the Cross Roads* is his *confessio fidei*, a final summing-up of his standpoint as a thinker. As such it is a profoundly religious testament and is evidence sufficient that Tyrrell, whatever might have been his external trials and inward misgivings, never lost that mystical sense of life which had been his special possession from his youth up. Loisy, a clear-sighted and candid observer, commented that 'between the Modernism (of this book) and that of *L'Evangile et l'Eglise* there is all the distance that lies between ardent mysticism and the calm examination of a given belief, or institution, or position. Of *L'Evangile et l'Eglise* it was said that it was a book Catholic, but scarcely Christian (in the Protestant sense). Tyrrell's book is, on the contrary, rather Christian than Catholic. The one contained a modest programme of desirable reforms; the latter is prophetic of revolution'. (Both, he laconically adds, may rest in the graveyard of heresies).[15] Tyrrell's work is truly a prophecy of revolution, but a revolution only in his own inner vision; for the forces of counter-revolution had unqualified success in preventing its realization. 'Modernism' as a self-conscious tendency in the thought and scholarship of Latin Catholicism was doomed to have no future and is now but a chapter, though one of singular fascination, in the recent history of an institution which in the course of time has experienced too many vicissitudes to be permanently discomposed by any one of them.

The last years of Tyrrell's life were spent at Miss Petre's house at Storrington. His very premature death from Bright's disease occurred on 15 July 1909. Denied, quite consistently, the necessary obsequies by the authorities of the Roman Catholic diocese of Southwark, his body was buried by his old friend, the Abbé Bremond, in the parish churchyard,

[13] *Life*, II, p. 373.
[14] *Op. cit.*, p. 5.
[15] *Life*, II, p. 353.

for which act of charitable disobedience the latter was himself disciplined. Among those present on the occasion were a few relatives of the deceased, Baron von Hügel and Miss Petre, and a number of Church of England clergymen.

The record of Tyrrell's career retains its interest and should be studied in the detailed account which his literary executrix made public. Must he not have regretted leaving the Church of his baptism? There is no little evidence that at one period he did. 'Who', he exclaims in *Mediaevalism*, 'can dwell with perpetual burnings?' To return, he then confessed, would have been 'an unspeakable relief'. Not alone on purely personal grounds. The comprehensiveness of Anglicanism, the freedom it allowed to thought and enquiry, was what 'the Church of the Future' must needs have. In 1905 he had written: 'We do not say that the Anglican clergy of the centre are the best educated or most learned in the world, but only that their education, taken together with their circumstances, their traditions and their sympathies, fit them beyond all others to deal with the problem of the synthesis between liberty and authority'.[16] And again: 'For my own self the Church of the "Christian Year" is (and always has been) my native air'. But he did not take the step backwards. For although the Roman Church might appear (and be) 'the poorest and shabbiest of earthen vessels' he did not doubt that, if heavenly treasure exist at all, then these contained it. It stood, he seems to the last to have been convinced, 'for the oldest and widest body of corporate Christian experience, the closest approximation, so far attained, to the still far distant ideal of a Catholic Church'.[17] The grandiose vision, which so many converts have shared, had captivated his imagination from adolescence and subsequent fortune did not wholly destroy it. Beside it Anglicanism must have appeared provincial, meagre and amateurish.

What, in fact, was the ideal of which this Jesuit *manqué* conceived himself to be the prophet? 'If Christ', he had stated, 'be more than a teacher, the Church is more than a school; if He be more than a founder, the Church is more than an institution—though it is both one and the other'.[18] A revolution indeed must be the work of God; were the Church a *mere* institution it could not survive it; whereas it not only is an historic entity but the external expression and medium of a spiritual power far greater than itself. External things, nevertheless, are perishable: the form will undergo change, the husk will fall away. As early as 1901 he had written to a friend: 'It is only my present belief and firm hope that this morbid encrustation'—i.e. 'Rome', and so much that the word seemed to stand for—'is separable from Catholicism that keeps me where I am'.[19]

[16] *Life*, II, p. 368.
[17] *Life*, II, p. 444.
[18] *Christianity at the Cross Roads*, p. 274.
[19] *Life*, II, p. 406.

Yet it would be difficult to put in any concise form of words what it was that Tyrrell desiderated. He was a prophet, not a practical reformer.[20] His vision was very far-reaching; in the interest of truth and spiritual freedom a vast amount would undoubtedly have to go, for dogmas are no more infallible and perdurable than are the institutions which create them. They are valid, and have claims upon our assent, only so far as they serve our spiritual need. In the long run it is by the categories of his own spiritual life that the individual lives. Thus in January 1908, Tyrrell wrote to a correspondent in France that what he *understood* about the Trinity amounted to Sabellianism. 'I am quite sure that Sabellianism is ludicrously inadequate; but it is as much of the truth as is serviceable to me, and is true as far as it goes.' Yet he admitted that he needed such dogmatic categories less and less. 'My imagination is quite cured of the outside God; for I feel that the inward spirit pervades and transcends the whole universe and reveals to me but an infinitesimal fraction of its Will and End and Truth and Nature.'[21] What was wanted, he thought, was not a mere cutting down of dogma—the solution most congenial to the liberal mind—but a new conception of its nature and function, of a kind not unlike that suggested by his fellow-Catholic, Le Roy, who saw in dogma not a quasi-scientific transcendental truth but simply *une règle d'ordre pratique*. Again and again, in fact, Tyrrell seems to have moved towards a position in many respects resembling that of the existentialists today. The truths of religion are truths of prophecy, not of fact. The will, he contends, cannot make that true which in itself is not true; but it can make that a fact relatively to our mind and action which is not a fact relative to our understanding. Accordingly it rests with each of us by an act of will to create the sort of world to which we shall accommodate our thought and action. The abstractions of science are simple only because they are barren forms created by the mind itself. Always the world of appearance is subordinate to the real world of our will and affections. Such statements, as one comes across them in the now dusty black volumes which Messrs. Longmans brought out year after year during the first decade of the present century have acquired an arresting freshness. When Bultmann tells us that 'in faith I realize that the scientific world-view does not comprehend the whole reality of the world and of human life, but faith does not offer another general world-view which corrects science in its statements on its own level',[22] Tyrrell would have concurred entirely. Indeed, he goes further: 'It does not follow that harmony of faith

[20]On 18 January 1909, he wrote: 'Houtin and Loisy are right, the Christianity of the future will consist of mysticism and charity, and possibly the Eucharist in its primitive form as the outward bond. I desire no better' (*Life*, II, p. 377).

[21]*Life*, II, p. 414.

[22]*Jesus Christ and Mythology*, p. 65.

with the truths of reason and facts of experience is the best or essential condition of its credibility'.

It is hardly surprising, perhaps, that Catholic Modernism should have evoked but little responsive sympathy in the minds of Anglican liberals. Liberal Anglicanism has always been Protestant and rationalistic; has always sought, or desired, to 'prove' the Christian case—at all events as presented by itself—externally, since 'proof' alone will qualify it to keep countenance when confronted by science. The mystically-inclined Inge was as insistent on this as the singularly unmystical Rashdall. The former's essay on 'Roman Catholic Modernism',[23] a characteristically able production, is unsparing in its castigation of writers who, for all their differences from any Anglican 'modern churchman', yet believed passionately in 'the possibility of a synthesis between the essential truth of religion and the essential truth of modernity.'[24] But then their alleged 'pragmatism', on which Inge especially fastened, had nothing whatever, to all appearance, in common with the intellectualist Platonism which he regarded as little less a revelation of ultimate truth than the gospel itself. Rashdall's approval was scarcely greater.[25] By nature he lacked Tyrrell's devotional fervour and was in no way drawn towards the 'Catholic' type of piety. All he could be said to share absolutely with the author of *Mediaevalism* was a constitutional readiness for a fight.

Was, then, Tyrrell's life, exteriorly viewed, wholly a failure? Probably not. Modernism got short shrift from the Vatican. At the close of Pius X's reign it seemed that reactionary forces had completely prevailed not only against 'progressive' thought but even against reputable scholarship. Tyrrell and Loisy had been condemned, but so too, in greater measure or less, had Duchesne, Batiffol, Murri and Laberthonnière. Theological learning was at a low ebb; even the revived study of St. Thomas, authoritatively encouraged as it was, could make headway only against inveterate habit, lethargy and prejudice, as Tyrrell's own early experience proved. Yet over the last fifty years Rome unchanging has herself changed. Roman Catholic scholarship is today second to none in Christendom, and her teachers are no longer merely apprehensively aware of the problems which religious faith inevitably raises, but are frank and eager in meeting them. Such a book as Père Malevez' *Le message chrétien et le mythe* or Dom Illtyd Trethowan's *An Essay in Christian Philosophy,* quite apart from the works of a writer like Gabriel Marcel, would hardly (*mutatis mutandis*), one may suppose, have evaded censure had they appeared in 1908, the year of *Pascendi dominici gregis*. Indeed one has only to compare the tone of the latter document with that of *Humani generis* to realize the alteration which the lapse of years has brought.

[23] *Outspoken Essays* (First Series), ch. VI.
[24] *Christianity at the Cross Roads,* p. 5.
[25] *Ideas and Ideals* (ed. Major and Cross), chs. VI and VIII.

But what of modernism in a wider sense? Have the Churches in general moved towards the sort of positions for which the liberals of Tyrrell's generation were so ready to battle? A clear-cut answer is not easily given. To all appearance traditionalism, dogmatism and biblicism have maintained their hold; 'sectarian' liberalism, certainly, can no longer claim to be of the intellectual *avant-garde* and its surviving representatives of thirty or forty years ago seem now almost antiquated. But the spirit of modernism, which was in revolt against complacency and the closed mind, has penetrated far. No Christian denomination, having any pretention to theological respectability, is immune to it. The rapidity of change—intellectual, social, moral—within the last half-century has been so great that the thoughtful believer is often at a loss to know what his own certainties amount to. Even the question, 'Does God exist?', can no more be argued in a straightforward way, and it even is doubtful whether, so put, it has any negotiable meaning. Our modern dogmatism, therefore, has perforce to be a more subtle and elusive thing and points rather to an attitude of mind, an orientation of will, than to any specific claim to knowledge. Yet these very characteristics were anticipated by the movement to which Tyrrell's own thinking so largely helped to give identity. It may even be that such novelty as the problems of faith and reason seem to have acquired in an age like the present is simply because our statement of them is relatively unfamiliar: the dance is essentially the same as before and only the costumes of the dancers differ. That such problems continue to arise, however, depends not least on temperamental factors. Perhaps the best light to be thrown upon them is from the study of religious biography.

MIRACLE AS A LITERARY DEVICE

By the Rev. H. C. Wallace, M.A.

Thomas Hardy once contemplated taking Orders but found the difficulty of miracles insuperable. The *Modern Churchman* (June 1960) relates this and also mentions the indignation of Gilbert Murray at bizarre beliefs included in the Christian faith, and concludes that it is a pity that two such able minds as these should be offended with a demand on the intelligence to accept miracle.

The miracles, however, are there in the Gospels and the intelligence has to make of them what it can. Miracle forms as large a part of each Gospel as does parable. Both are obviously tools of the Gospel writers' art, and neither ought to be torn away as mere embroidery unless the writers' intention is made more visible by so doing.

The peculiarity of miracles is that subsequent ages have defined them as descriptions of happenings beyond human experience which have actually taken place. The traditional Faith, that with God all things are possible, makes this peculiarity no burden, but there is left the difficulty of determining whether in fact the miracle happened, or whether the Gospel writer was mistaken or unreliable. Each reader resolves this difficulty by opinions formed from studies other than the Gospel writers' own work.

It is the merit of an essay 'The Concept of Miracle for today' (*Theology*, April 1960) that it seeks to avoid the difficulty by forming another definition of miracle. Very properly a selection of miracles is examined for common features, and a definition is framed to exhibit these. The definition is disappointing: it is, 'Miracle . . . is a wonder/sign event revelatory of the nature of God to those with a faith to receive it in an ecstatic experience; miracle . . . is a wonder, which demands a fragmentary realisation that the Mystery of Being is expressing itself in a relation to man in a definite way, creating a tension to choose offence or faith in Jesus acting in a way suggestive of being God'. Certainly, this definition would not have helped either Thomas Hardy or Gilbert Murray, though both men had a lively sense of the Mystery of Being. Either might have taken it to be no definition at all, but an example of what St. Paul had in mind when he deprecated speaking in tongues. The failure is due to a tendentious reading of the Gospels. The common features found in the essay are not in the Gospel miracles, but come from 'Biblical Theology'. Following a conclusion reached by Alan Richardson in 'The Miracle Stories of the Gospels', the essay attempts to show that miracle stories were not told to excite wonder. We are told that 'the age in which our Lord lived was innocent of any such scientific dogma as the fixity of natural law', and that miracles were 'not something utterly new', people 'were used to miracles'. This is misleading. The Age knew that grapes do not grow

from thistles, that the stars wheel in their courses, and that paralytic men do not take up their beds and walk. The miracle stories, however defined, use wonder to shock the imagination and direct the attention to where the writer wishes it to be directed. The essay makes the same assumption as all definitions of the miracles seem to make, for they all assume that the writer intends to chronicle an event that has actually taken place. It is this assumption that leads to definitions involving the impossible coming to pass. But the intention of the Gospel writer must be found from the Gospels; it must not be imported into the Gospels from the pious reasonings of later writers. An examination of the Gospel miracles must start from the simple fact that miracles are one of the literary tools which the Gospel writers used to bring home to the first readers matters held to be of unique importance.

The Gospel writers wished to exhibit the significance of the movement of the Spirit of which they are members. Jesus had lived, had taught, had been judicially murdered, and yet was still with them. The body of disciples taught by Jesus in his lifetime had grown very greatly. It had developed and was now at work far beyond the limits of Palestine. Development had brought its own problems and needs, and each Gospel writer seeks to show the real inner continuity of the development, in spite of external change. And above all, the writers seek to set forth the continuing richness of life within the body of the movement. The first readers of the Gospels would be aware of an outline of the central historic facts and of a number of stories surrounding the facts. The purpose of the Gospel writer is to put into evidence the stories which will exhibit the significance of what Jesus did and taught, and continues through the Spirit; and of the relationship of this to the power of God and the purpose of God. How can significance be conveyed in words? In particular, how can very abstract conceptions be put into words whose primary meaning is concrete? It can only be done by analogies. The Gospels are attempts to utter the unutterable, and their success is a literary triumph.

As an example of method, take the concluding verses of the story of the Prodigal Son (Lk. xv, 32). The father pleads with the elder son, and brings out the significance of the prodigal's return; 'For this your brother was dead and is alive; he was lost and is found'. Two analogies are used: the one, that of finding something precious that had been lost; the other, a resurrection analogy. The one analogy is the parable, the other is miracle. Both are used for the same purpose, for bringing out the significance of a situation. The miracle differs from the parable only in that the analogy used is one easily imagined but beyond experience. In the example chosen, no one can imagine that the father intends to say factually that his son died and came to life again: the analogy is for significance not fact. This is clear because the situation is clearly given in the story. However, in many miracle and parable stories the situation is not stated,

though the Gospel writer could assume that his first readers would understand his reference. The real problem for us is to envisage the situation on which miracle or parable is used to bring out its significance. This problem has been investigated for the parable, but less thoroughly for the miracle, because it has not been seen that both parable and miracle are essentially the same literary device with the same object.

If now, as a working hypothesis, miracle be defined as a literary device whereby the significance of a situation is brought out by means of an analogy going beyond human experience, then the definition will be satisfied by the example cited, and it is legitimate to enquire how far this definition holds for the Gospel miracles generally.

Very many of the miracle stories concern the restoration to health of a sick body or mind. These are analogies bringing out the success of the work of Jesus in effecting for some an entrance into the full life possible to men under God's kingly rule. Each miracle would have its own particular situation. The list of miracles in Mat. ii, 5 illustrates the true answer to the Baptist's question, 'Art thou he that should come?', since it illustrates by analogies the effect of baptism by the Holy Spirit. Another situation is given in the work of Jesus among the Jews which enabled some to fulfil their own Mosaic law (Mk. i, 40). Yet another is that of work extending the scope of salvation to the Gentiles (Mk vii, 24). To evaluate each situation is a work of difficulty and importance, here the concern is simply to show that the definition of miracle proposed is applicable to the healing miracles, and an aid in recapturing the original situation.

St. John's miracles—he insists that they are all signs—illustrate the definition well. The water transformed to rich wine in overwhelming quantity is the proper analogy to use to express how Jesus took the formal religion of His mother country and transformed it into one of life-giving richness. And the effect of this transformation is so great that those 'dead' in the old religion come to life again, and like Lazarus, can be freed from the grave wrappings.

It was necessary for the Gospel writers to repudiate violence as a means of achieving the Church's aims. 'My kingship is not of this world', said Jesus; and the Church proclaimed its desire to render unto Ceasar the things that are Ceasar's. The Roman authorities found it difficult to credit this attitude. The times were those of the revolt of the Jews and it was known that the Christian movement had arisen within Jewry, and moreover Jesus was known to be of the House of David. It was not easy for the Church to make clear the difference between a Messiah 'of the House of David' and a Davidic Messiah, pledged to renew the earthly power of the Jewish peoples. Matthew and Luke, who alone give the genealogies involving descent through David, also give a miraculous account of the birth of Jesus which precludes any Davidic mission. Notwithstanding the line of descent, they seem to say, Jesus is to be regarded as receiv-

ing his mission through the Spirit and His mother: in this respect He was born of a virgin.

The repudiation of violence was made by all three (Synoptic) writers in the miracle given in Mark v (and parallels). In the country of the Gerasenes (or Gadarenes), Jesus met a man possessed by devils of violence. The man had long been so possessed, and now no chains could bind him. Yet Jesus exorcised the violence, and the devils entered a herd of swine which was drowned in the sea. The miracle may refer to a particular situation, that of Jewish violence in killing opponents in the revolt of A.D. 66. Josephus mentions both Gadara and Gerasa as towns whose inhabitants the Jews slaughtered. I take the miracle as saying that, in spite of the notorious violence of the Jews, men even of that race who have come under the Spirit of Jesus are freed from the devils of violence. Christians are not involved in the sea of troubles in which so many Jews destroyed themselves.

The exorcism of violence is preceded by the miracle of the stilling of the storm (Mk iv, 35). It is understandable that many Christians would fear that the sea of troubles which engulfed Jewry would wreck the ship of the Church. It is the presence of the risen Lord which calms these fears, and rebukes the lack of faith at the base of the fear.

A source of joy to the Gospel writers was the continual growth of the Church. There were now many thousands of members and the rich life of all had come from a single source. Jesus had indeed multiplied the bread of life. Two miracles are used as analogies by Matthew and Mark to give point to this. In both Jesus feeds a crowd through disciples. In the first miracle there are twelve baskets of fragments left over; in the second there are seven. The two miracles are necessary because the Church had grown in two streams, the one from the twelve called in the lifetime of Jesus, the other from the seven called by the risen Lord to minister to the Hellenists. Luke gives the first miracle in his Gospel; he has no need to give the second miracle, since in Acts vi he narrates the actual calling of the seven.

Enough has been said to show how widely the definition is applicable to the Gospel miracles—a definition which regards miracle as a literary device with the same function as parable. Moreover it can be seen that the miracle story is essential to show the significance of the Gospels, and not an embroidery tacked on to be unpicked if convenient. Miracles are neither bizarre nor an obstacle to accepting the Christian faith.

CLIO: A SPHINX

By Dr. S. G. F. Brandon,
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It is a curious, but a significant fact, that what is called the 'philosophy of history' is spurned as an illegitimate and unwanted child by both its putative parents. Philosophy will not own it or accord it a recognized place in its curriculum of studies. History rejects it for its apparent waywardness which causes it to refuse the disciplined concentration on some specific period and to wander lightly over the whole expanse of the past. Yet, despite this stigma of illegitimacy, the philosophy of history continues to exercise an irresistible fascination on both the professional scholar and the thinking public. Works on the subject continue to be published, and there can be little doubt that two of the most vigorously attacked among them, namely, O. Spengler's *The Decline of the West*, and A. J. Toynbee's *A Study of History*, have exercised enormous influence and are among the most significant writings of this century.

The reason for the perennial fascination of the subject is obvious, and it can be completely summed up in the question: what does history mean? Moreover, it is likely that, when it becomes possible to assess in its proper perspective the significance of the various developments of human knowledge during the past century, it will be found that man's *Weltanschauung* has been at least as, if not more, powerfully affected by the extension of his knowledge of the past as by his deeper understanding of the nature of the physical world. Much has been written about the repercussions for Christianity of the change from the Ptolemaic to the Copernican view of the universe, and the significance of the controversy engendered by Darwinism is now a recognised topic in the study of the nineteenth century; but a proper assessment has yet to be made of the effect on Western thought of the widening of the horizons of mankind's past which has been achieved by the various forms of historical research, including archaeology.

That such new knowledge should have so profoundly affected Western thought is due to the fact that, even in its secularized forms, the evaluation of man's life and destiny has been essentially influenced by Christianity, which is based upon a very distinctive philosophy of history. Indeed the very *raison d'être* of Christianity is the claim that history is the expression of that saving providence of God which is symbolized in the dichotomy of time into two periods denominated respectively B.C. (before Christ) and A.D. (the *anni Domini*). But the history, upon which Christianity has been accustomed to base its claim, is really a very peculiar interpretation of a curious body of tradition, namely, the traditions of ancient Israel as embodied in what is tendentiously termed 'The Old Testament'. Such a view of the past, highly motivated though it was by theological interests,

was, none the less, profoundly influential during the formative period of Western culture, and unchallenged as it was by any rival interpretation, it moulded the Western conception of time. Accordingly, because this Christian philosophy of history was in effect a teleology, i.e. it interpreted the past in terms of the fulfilment of the purpose of God, the basic pattern of Western thought became teleological, and its tendency has been to continue so even where it has consciously repudiated the authority of Christian revelation.

Today the meaning of history, therefore, constitutes a problem with a twofold aspect. On the one hand, the great mass of information which has now been assembled about the past of mankind challenges the innate teleology of Western thinking to find some purpose or coherent theme in it that will make sense and endorse our values and aspirations.

On the other hand, all this new historical knowledge sets Christianity the task, which is as urgent as it is profound, of showing that its original claim, based on the narrow and tendentious traditions of ancient Hebrew historiography, i.e. that history is the revelation of the saving providence of God for Israel, can be substantiated in the light of what is now known of the past of the human race.

For the various Christian churches the problem is a common one. Consequently, when a Roman Catholic theologian of distinction and a member of the Society of Jesus essays to meet its challenge in a book endorsed by the imprimatur of his ecclesiastical authorities, the undertaking will be studied with great interest. Father M. C. D'Arcy's recent book[1] is the product of many years' study of its subject; it shows evidence of a wide acquaintance with relevant works, whether by members of his own Church or of other communions or secularists by profession (there is, curiously, only one passing reference each to Sorokin and to Berdydev, while Gerald Heard's little book, *Is God in History?*, is given a special appendix of eighteen pages). Fr. D'Arcy's expositions and criticisms of the views of these writers are both sympathetic and acute; unfortunately his style is somewhat discursive, and often it is difficult to be certain whether he is expressing his own opinion or describing another writer's views with approval.

It is right and proper that Fr. D'Arcy should approach the problem of the meaning of history as a Christian apologist, being intent to explain and defend the traditional Christian interpretation. But, while he provides an acute analysis of many of the problems of historiography, particularly those with which Benedetto Croce and R. G. Collingwood occupied themselves, he strangely neglects to grapple with the basic issue of the origin and development of the Christian interpretation of history. Two examples illustrate this, and they will also serve to indicate how complex is the

[1] *The Sense of History: Secular and Sacred* (Faber & Faber, London, 1959, pp. 309, 30/-).

problem involved here. Fr. D'Arcy cites the story given in the Lukan Gospel of the encounter of the two disciples with the Risen Lord on the way to Emmaus as an instance of 'historical interpretation'. After a long discussion of various traditional indentifications of Emmaus, he points to the significant but puzzling connection between the disciples' recognition of Jesus in 'the breaking of the bread' and the Eucharist, and he concludes with the remark: 'Such an interpretation takes us away from history as the historian treats it, . . . ' But throughout the whole of his discussion of this account, Fr. D'Arcy never seems to be aware of the fact that the historian is obliged to evaluate this story in relation to the treatment of the post-Resurrection Appearances of Jesus as a whole in the primitive Christian documents. This means in turn an ignoring of the fact that there is evidence of a radical divergence of opinion among the early Christians as to the exact location of the post-Resurrection Appearances—the Markan and Matthaean Gospels implying the existence of a tradition which located them in Galilee, while the Lukan writings specifically confine them to Jerusalem and its immediate environs. The point involved here is of basic importance, because it reveals that within some fifty years of the Crucifixion, Christian knowledge was so imprecise about allegedly historical facts that such diverse traditions could exist and find literary expression. For the historian the matter raises further issues, such as the conflict of rival interests among the first Christians about the respective significance of Galilee and Jerusalem, which must be duly considered in any estimate of an original Christian appreciation of the factor of historicity. It raises also another important issue about which Fr. D'Arcy shows some confusion of thought, namely, in what sense Christianity may be described as an 'historical religion'. On p. 231 he says: 'Both the Jewish and the Christian religions are historical, and the Christian religion has by its title deeds, the incarnation and the redemption *sub Pontio Pilato*, a liaison with history.' The statement reveals how easily the Christian apologist confuses historical fact with theological interpretation. The reference to Pontius Pilate only attests the historicity of the execution of Jesus by that Roman procurator: it in no wise authenticates the incarnation and redemption as historical facts, if that is what is meant by 'a liaison with history'. The incarnation and redemption are theological interpretations which were subsequently put upon the respective facts of the historical existence of Jesus and of his death by crucifixion on the orders of Pilate. However, on p. 243 it would appear that Fr. D'Arcy had other ideas about what makes Christianity an historical religion, for he there says that the Christian religion is 'wedded to history' as was that of Israel, because it is connected with events of the world's history. This imprecision about what constitutes an 'historical religion' is unfortunately too frequent among Christian scholars and it seems often to cloak either an unconsciousness of, or an indifference towards, an issue of fundamental

concern; the matter is too involved for adequate treatment here, and it must suffice for the present writer to refer to his discussion of the subject elsewhere.[2]

The other example of Fr. D'Arcy's failure to come to grips with the real problem of the Christian interpretation of history is to be found in his treatment of the history of Israel. In the chapter which he devotes to the subject he never stops for one moment to consider how that majestic conspectus of the past from the very creation down to the erection by Solomon of the Temple of Yahweh on Mount Zion, in which is unfolded in its consequent stages the operation of the divine providence for Israel, came to be composed. But the question is a very pertinent one; because, majestic though it may be in its unveiling of Israel's destiny, the narrative, in which it is contained, is essentially a literary composition. This fact inevitably means that in any serious historical evaluation of the significance of Israel's history, as it is set forth in the Old Testament, the process of its composition has to be investigated. This, of course, has already been done by many competent scholars, and it has been found that the picture given of the unfolding of the divine purpose in the Hexateuch and the other historical books is a very artificial creation and is the product of many hands and inspired by very human motives.[3] This conclusion does not mean that the history of Israel is not without profound significance; but it does mean that, in its Old Testament presentation, it cannot be regarded as a record of what actually happened, but rather as a tendentious interpretation of a variety of ethnic traditions. Such an estimate in turn must be taken into account when the early Christian understanding of the past of mankind is being considered, because the Christian Church took over the Old Testament as its sacred literature, and, in terms of Paul's theory that the Church was the true Israel, it came to apply the revelation which it discerned in the Old Testament to its own being and destiny.

The proper evaluation of the origin and nature of the early Christian interpretation of the past is, therefore, fundamental to any useful study of the philosophy of history. Similar is the need to determine the part that the consciousness of the individual has in both the making and the interpretation of historical phenomena. A valuable feature of Fr. D'Arcy's work is the attention which he pays to the experience of the individual and to the emphasis which he lays upon the essentiality of the personal factor for all attempts to understand the past. As he wisely observes, 'The self dwells in loneliness and grandeur, and its thoughts are true or false, its acts good or bad, by absolute standards' (p. 191). And he notes:

[2] *Time and Mankind* (London, 1957), chap. viii; 'History's Challenge to Theology', in *The Hibbert Journal*, vol. 50 (1951-2); 'The Historical Element in Primitive Christianity', in *Numen*, vol. 2 (1955).

[3] See the survey and discussion in *Time and Mankind*, chaps. iv & v.

'The works of man recorded in history fade into obscure remains stretched out along the sands of time; they are like the effigy of a knight lying on his tomb compared with the live person looking down upon him. Worse than this, the historian can deal with masses, important groups and influential persons and the quasi-individual is always swamped by detail' (p. 202). However, for all his appreciation of the personal element, Fr. D'Arcy never enquires into the significance of man's consciousness of time. Yet it would seem that it is here, on the last analysis, that the clue may reside to the human situation *vis-à-vis* the other forms of life. Consciousness in the individual human being means awareness of existence, or the possibility of existence, within the terms of the three temporal categories of past, present and future. This temporal consciousness is both the cause of mankind's amazing victory over all the other species in the struggle for existence and the source of that basic sense of insecurity that prevents the individual from ever being able consciously to content himself in the enjoyment of the passing moment. Thus, while on one hand man's sense of time enables him to draw on the memory of past experience to plan for future contingencies, this same ability makes him mindful of the inevitability of change and causes him to know that he is mortal. Indeed, in a very real sense all the religions of mankind and all the achievements of its civilisations represent so many efforts to find security from the inexorable logic of human consciousness of time, namely, that the passage of time must bring change and decay.[4]

This failure to appreciate the significance of man's consciousness of time seriously impairs what Fr. D'Arcy has to say about the relation of Providence to history. Thus he writes: 'It (Providence) works in and through the fredom of individual men and women, and its law is love. The necessity which can be observed in physical nature changes into spontaneity in living beings, and in human societies a new phase is reached where necessity is continually reduced and duty and desire take its place. . . . The idea of Providence, therefore, by its very nature rejects and rebukes the doctrine of determinism. The annunciation of it at the advent of Christianity was the more welcome in that it freed the mind from the oppression of fate and impersonal law' (pp. 141-2). Such a conception is admittedly in line with the traditional Christian view of Divine Providence, but this fact only emphasizes the problem in which the Christian philosophy of history has become involved owing to its refusal to face the logic of man's experience of living in a world subject to the law of temporal change. Time is one of the basic dimensions of existence as we know it, and time manifests itself as change in the presentation of phenomena. For living organisms this order of things means inevitably

[4]Cf. S. G. F. Brandon, 'The Origin of Religion', in *The Hibbert Journal,* vol. 57 (1959).

decay and death. But Christianity, unlike certain Eastern religions, is unrealistic about this fundamental pattern of existence and seeks to explain decay and death as contrary to God's Will and due to human sin. Yet the fact, however grim and unpalatable, that existence in time involves decay and death, must nevertheless be faced properly in any attempt to assess either the life of the individual or that of mankind as a whole. Here indeed we meet a defect in Christian thinking which, while it continues, renders the Christian philosophy of history, which in this context means its interpretation of human life, unrealistic and therefore unconvincing. In other words, the Christian thinker must be prepared to recognize that decay and death are the natural concomitants of the existence of any living organism in the spatio-temporal world of which alone we have experience. And such a recognition in turn will mean relating this postulate to the conception of God as the source and sustainer of all forms of life within the spatio-temporal dimensions of this world.[5]

We are thus brought to the point of considering Fr. D'Arcy's own interpretation of the meaning of history. This is set forth in terms of the idea of the Mystical Body of Christ, which is a concept now much in vogue in Roman Catholic thinking: 'By interpreting tradition in terms of an organism, composed of a head and members, of which Christ, as the Head, is ever compresent with the members, we are provided with a truth which has many analogies ready at hand to illuminate its meaning' (p. 260).[6] As a Christian apologist, Fr. D'Arcy has every right to invoke such an image; but it must also be recognised that such a mystical concept is necessarily only meaningful within the terms of Christian thought, and that even there many theologians do not find it the most effective of ideas. But for whom is Fr. D'Arcy writing? Is his book only for the edification of the faithful, or is it intended to present to thinking men and women everywhere a reasoned statement of the Christian interpretation of the history of mankind? If the latter is the intention, as it appears to be, then, not only must it be judged unwise for its employment of such an esoteric image, but it also reveals an amazing indifference to the challenge of other religions. To read Fr. D'Arcy's book gives the impression that Christianity is the only religion which has presented a serious interpretation of human nature and destiny. But there are other religions, some far older than Christianity, which are still very flourishing and enjoy the allegiance of millions of the human race. Moreover, certain of these faiths, namely, Hinduism and Buddhism, present an interpretation of man's life

[5]Cf. Brandon, 'Death and the Relevance of the Christian Conception of God', in *The Modern Churchman*, vol. III (new series), 1959-60.

[6]It is interesting to note that Fr. D'Arcy makes many references to the work of Teilhard de Chardin. He is generally sympathetic, though critical; he says that 'it does assist the historicist in his task', and 'it gives a vision, and thereby a charter to other adventurers'.

and destiny which differs radically from that of Christianity. It has already been mentioned above that some Eastern religions also hold a more realistic estimate of the significance of decay and death than does Christianity. The fact is significant, and it constitutes a challenge for the Christian thinker. For today no attempt to understand the meaning of mankind's history, from the emergence of *homo sapiens* in the Upper Palaeolithic era down to the present time, can be regarded as serious that does not investigate and assess the results of the comparative study of religion. Such study reveals how men at various times and places understood themselves and what they believed their destiny to be, and through these diverse interpretations runs significantly the theme of man's consciousness of time and his instinct to seek security from its inexorable logic.[7] For all thoughtful men and women Clio, the muse of history, is a sphinx whose secret they must learn, if they are to make sense of life. And here lies one of the greatest and most urgent tasks for the Christian scholar, and surely one of the most inspiring too; but he will make no progress in helping his fellow-men to read the riddle unless he is prepared to think courageously and sympathetically outside the limits and terminology of the traditional theology.

A NINETEENTH-CENTURY PLEA FOR MORE BISHOPS: THOMAS SIMS ON EPISCOPACY AND SYNODS

By Alan M. G. Stephenson, M.A., Tutor and Lecturer, Lichfield Theological College

The Editor of *Crockford's Clerical Directory, 1959-60*, after reflecting on the recent biographies of Archbishop Garbett and Bishop Kirk, has pleaded for an increase of the episcopate; and he is emphatic that any such increase should be the creation of new dioceses rather than the proliferation of suffragan bishops. His is the latest voice in a long line of similar pleas since the beginning of the nineteenth century, a complete study of which would form a notable contribution to modern English Church History. One of the most remarkable of such demands for more bishops came in the glut of ephemeral literature on Church Reform in the eighteen-thirties. It is a document entitled *A Model of Non-Secular Episcopacy* and its author was the Rev. Thomas Sims, of whom very

[7] See the present writer's forthcoming book, *Man and his Destiny in the Great Religions*. (Manchester University Press.)

little is known, though he was for a few years an incumbent at Winchester.[1] Sims wrote at a time when there had been no increase in the episcopate since the reign of Henry VIII and suffragans had ceased to be appointed since the first decade of the seventeenth century. Sims pleaded for a radical increase of diocesan bishops—ninety-four instead of twenty-seven—as well as for the creation of a large number of suffragan bishops. The pamphlet contains a number of other radical suggestions, some of which have since been implemented, though not quite exactly as Sims proposed and certainly not as a result of his advocacy. As the document seems completely to have escaped the notice of students of the nineteenth-century Church, the following summary of this fascinating pamphlet may prove useful.[2]

Sims sees that reform must commence with the episcopate, which at that date presented scarcely a very creditable appearance.[3] 'The great preliminary step to a second reformation of the Church of England', he says, 'is the reformation of her Episcopate, an institution not originally designed for the aggrandisement of a few but for the benefit of many.' The reformation of the episcopate is the essential preliminary to liturgical reform and questions like that of pluralities and other abuses. Having said this by way of preface, he proceeds to outline his scheme of proposals, which he regards as in accordance with Scripture and the Primitive Church. He maintains that whatever he wishes to abolish is neither essential to episcopacy nor consistent with its primitive form. His plan can be summarised as follows:

(1) Bishops are to cease to sit in the House of Lords.[4]

(2) The Archbishops of Canterbury and York are to be in future simply Bishops, on a level with other members of the episcopate.[5]

(3) Bishops in future are not to be nominated by the Prime Minister. Instead they are to be elected by a Diocesan Synod, composed of both clerical and lay members. The patronage of the Bishop is to be disposed

[1]Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses* has the following entry for Thomas Sims: 'Adm. pens. at Queens' Mar. 1, 1806. Matric. Easter 1806. B.A. 1810. M.A. 1813. R. of St. Swithun's, Winchester 1839-43. Disappears from *Clergy List* 1845'. The full title of Sims' pamphlet is *A Model of Non-Secular Episcopacy, including reasons for the establishment of Ninety-Four Bishopricks in England and Wales,* by the Rev. Thomas Sims, M.A., formerly of Queens' College, Cambridge (1832).

[2]Anyone wishing to consult the original document will find a copy in the Bodleian Library.

[3]One need mention no more than the names of Bathurst, Sparke and Vernon Harcourt in order to justify this statement. See C. K. Francis Brown, *A History of the English Clergy, 1800–1900* (1953), pp. 78-111.

[4]'That at the decease of each of the present Prelates, the Baronial rank attached to the See be extinct, and his successor be a Bishop only, not a Peer.'

[5]'That at the decease of each of the present Archbishops, the Archiepiscopal dignity be abolished, and their successors be Bishops.'

of only with the concurrence of the Diocesan Synod. The Dean and Chapters of the Cathedrals are left out of the picture, with no part in the election of the Bishop, except in so far as they are members of the Diocesan Synod.

(4) The Bishop of each diocese is, with the concurrence of the Diocesan Synod, to appoint two or three of his clergy as Suffragan Bishops who 'without neglecting their own parishes, may relieve him occasionally by discharging, by his express commission, certain duties now incumbent upon Bishops themselves, or Chancellors, and Archdeacons.'

(5) The number of Diocesan Bishops is to be increased to ninety-four.[6] The list of places which are to become seats of Bishops is too long to enumerate, but it is a very comprehensive scheme, showing that Sims has studied questions of growth of population in some considerable detail. Many of the towns he names have since become cathedral cities or else the seats of Suffragan Bishops. London is to be divided into seven dioceses, with new sees of Westminster and Lambeth. Lichfield diocese is to be divided into nine dioceses and Lincoln into six. In the Northern Province, the huge diocese of York[7] is to be divided up under seven bishops.

(6) All Bishops are to receive an equal salary. This is to be adequate enough to prevent the evil of livings and deaneries being held in plurality with bishopricks. Sims suggests that each should receive an annual salary of £1,500, 'to be paid in advance', the £500 'being especially designed to meet the expenses of a carriage and travelling, and for the exercise of charity and hospitality.' The one exception to the equal payment of bishops is a concession to the Bishops of London, Lambeth and Westminster. These, being compelled to live in the capital, where prices are more excessive, are to have £2,000 to £2,500. Suffragan Bishops, who are to remain incumbents, are only to be given travelling expenses. Evidently, the Diocesan Bishop has to pay these!

Here are certainly some startling proposals. Had they been carried into effect the Church in England and Wales would have enjoyed the episcopal supervision of between three and four hundred Bishops.

Equally surprising, but more practicable, are Sims' suggestions on Ecclesiastical Assemblies or Synods. Here his scheme has, broadly speaking, been carried out. He proposes a graduated series of councils or synods, rising from the level of the local parish church to that of the whole Church of England. At the parish church level there is to be a 'Monthly

[6]In 1832 there were twenty-seven bishops in England and Wales, including Sodor and Man. This number had remained unchanged since the time of the Reformation. Today there are forty-three English, and six Welsh, Diocesan Bishops.

[7]York Diocese at that date included the present Dioceses of Ripon, Wakefield, Bradford, as well as the County of Nottingham.

Church Session', though in an emergency this can meet more frequently than its name implies. This is to be composed of the Clergy of the parish, the Synodman (by which name Sims designates the Patron of the living or the principal inhabitant of the parish), the Churchwardens and the Overseers of the Poor, together with any who have previously served in these offices. The incumbent is to act as chairman. At the next level comes the 'Conference', to be held every six months 'at a borough' and with a Suffragan Bishop presiding. This is composed of Patrons, Presbyters, Synodsmen, Churchwardens and Overseers of a certain limited area.[8] At the highest diocesan level comes the 'Diocesan Synod', composed of the Bishop of the diocese, Suffragan Bishops, Patrons, Presbyters, Synodsmen, and one Churchwarden and one Overseer from each parish. The Diocesan Bishop naturally acts as President. Sims expresses a hope that a copy of the transactions at this Synod will be published. At the national level comes the 'General Synod', to be held every alternate year at Westminster, and to sit for not more than a week. It is to be composed of Peers of the realm who are Patrons, Diocesan Bishops, and one Presbyter and one Synodsman from each Diocesan Synod. The President of this assembly is not to be the Bishop of Canterbury, who now has no higher status than any other Bishop, but the Lord Chancellor, one of the Peer-Patrons.

The resemblances to, and the differences from, our present system in the Church of England of Parochial Church Council, Ruri-Decanal Conference, Diocesan Conference, Church Assembly will be obvious. That there are distinct resemblances is an indication of the wisdom of this reformer. There is however one important difference. The Church of England today retains her Convocations. Sims wished to do away with them, or, to be more precise, was not in favour of their revival. Nor would he call the 'General Synod' by the name of Convocation. 'The use of the term Convocation', he says, 'would be associated with the recollection, and perhaps revival of controversies of a political character, now at rest. The High Council may be a proper title.'[9]

[8]Sims does not say what area such a 'Conference' should cover or how many areas there should be in a diocese. He never mentions rural deaneries.

[9]It is not clear what future there was for the Archdeacon under Sims' scheme, but the most natural interpretation is that his office was to fall into abeyance and be superseded by that of the Suffragan Bishop.

REFORMATION AND UNITY*

By the Rev. Professor E. G. Rupp, D.D.
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The Reformation of the sixteenth century was, among other things, an explosion. It is as though some great ship, going on its lawful occasions, had been suddenly stopped by some disastrous upheaval—its occupants suddenly plunged into a situation of crisis, of life and death situations, called to make desperate improvisations, where men and women found their values forming into perspectives which they would never have found but for this dire emergency. Thomas More and Hugh Latimer knew what it was to 'stand upon life or death'. Out of that emergency came the drastic changes about which men had talked in vain for centuries, the reform of the Church in head and members, and these emerged in the patterns of Protestantism and of the Counter-Reformation.

There can be little doubt of the great need of the modern Churches: the evangelization of the masses of Western Europe. 'I do not have to look far for a theme for my meditation,' said Cardinal Suhard in 1947—'it is the wall separating the Churches from the masses: a wall which at all costs must be broken down.' But can the Churches, introverted and obsessed as they are by their own inner problems, make the necessary adjustments, experiments, unless they suffer some upheaval drastic and of almost catastrophic explosive force? Can a reunion be achieved where something more is involved than a mere shot in the arm, a mere blood transfusion? This is the real question which relates evangelism in reunion. It is not that the man in the street is likely to be much impressed by the fact that our 57 varieties have been somehow reduced to 49, or the often sentimental illusion that where two weak, unevangelistic Churches come together the result will be one strong Church brim full of new ideas and impulses. (This may, or may not happen.)

What is needed, surely, is some union which really would involve drastic changes, not for their own sake, but involving new and richer posssibilities of Church life, worship and behaviour. It is here that, as a Methodist, my interest lies. It is often said, probably rightly, that if the Church of England and the Methodists cannot come together with their many ties of origin and their spiritual affinities, then we cannot hope for any major reunion in our time, in these islands.

I think I ought to say, as one engaged in the official conversations, that as far as I can see, this reunion is not likely to happen if our two Churches continue to care 'at this poor dying' present rate. It seems to me of urgency that in the next five years thousands of local conversations

*An address given in Cambridge during the Octave of Prayer for Christian Unity, 1961.

should transpire at every level of our Church life, and that they must be accompanied by Bible study, prayer and common action in Christian service. May I be very frank about this? I think we must allow for a certain one-sidedness about this. There are Methodists who care very much about reunion with the Church of England: our separateness is not for them a theological lip service to the sin of schism and the value of unity. It comes home to them when they say their prayers and at the Holy Table. I have not met many Anglicans who care about us in a similar way: I wish I could believe there were many Anglicans who really have this on their conscience, as a matter of special intention in their prayers and at their eucharists.

So far no suggestions have been made which would involve the Church of England in any drastic upheaval. They stand foursquare upon the Lambeth Quadrilateral: you may go about her and admire those bulwarks—how easy it would be in such a situation for Anglicans to feel:

> 'Leave them alone
> And they'll come home
> Wagging their tails behind them!'

For Anglicans nothing much more is involved than the uncomfortable business of squeezing up in a railway carriage to admit newcomers—it is a bother, but by the time the luggage has been rearranged and everybody has reseated themselves as near their original position as possible, we are prepared to sit by one another in peace and good temper. But for the Methodists, it is to be much more like having to walk out of an underground train with their luggage and then walk along the dark tunnel—not knowing whether the live rail has been switched off or not.

For the Methodists, for example, to adopt episcopacy must mean great risks, strains and tensions, and such changes in machinery really represent an explosion. If my argument has any worth it means happy Methodists!! For such changes, in a Church for which 'going it alone' the next fifty years seem likely neither to be adventurous or highly successful, might mean a real opening up of its Church life—a new discovery of its fundamental necessities—such as might make it an evangelical order within the one united Church, and enable us all together, Anglican and Methodist, to resume the missionary apostolate of our land, amid a renewal of graces which our disunity has kept in suspension.

Such a Church would be, in the words of the Lambeth Report, truly evangelical and truly Catholic. It would be evangelical, not only in its doctrine, but in giving place to elements of liberty and integrity which are part of the heritage of Protestantism and the Free Churches. I mean such integrity of mind as is compatible with a Cambridge tradition which includes Martin Bucer, George Herbert, Nicholas Ferrar, the Cambridge Puritans, the Cambridge Platonists, the Cambridge Evangelicals, F. D.

Maurice, Charles Kingsley, Westcott, Hort, Lightfoot, Sir Edwyn Hoskyns and Charles Raven. And it would be a Church with many-sided traditions, for I am sure that one of the questions we have to consider is not so much, 'Do I agree with this?' 'Is this how I would worship?'—but 'Can I live with people who think and behave in this way?' And this is not to deny the real problem of the limits of permissible diversity. But it would also be catholic, and may I say that some of us have no thought of asking the Church of England to compromise its own catholicity by accommodating faith and order to a weird kind of Protestant amalgam such as never was on land or sea: that indeed this catholicity is something you must keep for our sakes too. It is one of the great marks of the Church of England in our time that she has stretched out hands on both sides, to the left and right, holding coversations not only with the British Churches but with those of the Lutheran, Reformed and Orthodox communions. We welcome the royal gesture of the Archbishop of Canterbury in visiting Constantinople, Jerusalem and Rome and especially his reference in his sermon in Rome to the 'vast riches of Christ'. Nothing less than this is the catholicity we too envisage and desire, and one of the urgent reasons for our coming together should be that we shall forge new links with our separated brethren throughout the world, and be purged of that sectarianism which in many forms dogs all the divided communions of Christendom.

Sometimes some Methodists are accused of a 'deep, dark plot to hand Methodism over to the Church of England'. Occasionally I wish such a plot existed: sometimes I even wish I could join such a plot! The trouble is that the opponents of Christian unity are the deep ones, the dark ones, those who have very clear notions of what it is, up with which they will not put! It is the rest of us who in comparison are feeble, well-wishing, unorganized, incoherent. I think the time has come when those of us who, as humbly and as honestly as may be, are convinced that reunion is God's will, need to be banded together at least in prayer and worship and Bible study. Ought there not to be formed some kind of religious Society (an historic Anglican and Methodist word) in which Methodists and Anglicans would have a common membership, and use together a regular office of prayer and worship?

Would that there were among us those who could qualify as 'the Plotters'—with the exuberant courage of a Guy Fawkes, the eloquence of a Mirabeau or Danton, even the inventiveness of a Titus Oates! Would that we could envisage groups of ardent longers for reunion sitting up into the small hours, revolving schemes and difficulties, but deeply concerned and personally utterly committed to a great enterprise. But there is a more excellent way. It is first the way of charity. For we have to convince our fellow-Christians, and convert them: we cannot browbeat them into reunion, and this is the one conversation we can jeopardize not so

much by what we say as the way we say it. How many of us simply evoke sales resistance by putting a great case badly. But most excellent of all will it be to offset the opposition not by something deep and dark, but by something clear and high—not a plot but a vision—a vision of a Church truly evangelical and catholic, dedicated and renewed, going about its Master's business, showing a place of healing and unity to a broken and divided world. That is the way forward. May we be like those shepherds on the Delectable Mountains—through whose perspective glass others may turn towards Mount Zion, and whose hands like ours will tremble to see 'something like a gate, and also something of the glory of the place'.

REVIEWS

EXPLANATION*

An apology is due and offered for the delay in a review of this book, which is based on three years of Stanton Lectures in the University of Cambridge; but there may be some compensating advantage in belatedly calling attention to first-class work of which, so far as I am aware, curiously little notice has been taken. In these days, though it is no longer confidently claimed that theological statements are neither true nor false but meaningless, it is still widely assumed that 'scientific' (meaning by that word empirical and testably verifiable) explanation is alone satisfactory, though some qualified degree of acceptance is accorded to historical explanation where it is relevant. If the findings and theories of the various disciplines of 'science' could be woven together so as to form a unified and consistent picture, that, it is felt, would be as far as man can get to explanation, and would yield a satisfying philosophy. It is, of course, very far from being achieved; and the claim that it can be is faith, though not a baseless faith. So is theological explanation.

Strictly, only the last 56 pages of Mr. Woods' book, its last section of which the title is given to the whole, is concerned with theological explanation; but this is justified because his purpose is to vindicate theological explanation as not only legitimate but as the least inadequate form of explanation possible for man, and this cannot be done without showing its superiority to other forms more widely in favour.

In once sense, of course, as Mr. Woods so convincingly shows, there is no such thing as impersonal explanation because, so far as we know, only persons can explain at all. Inevitably, at the beginning of such thought as is concerned to seek understanding of manifold experiences and extremely varied knowledge not initially integrated otherwise than by the method of reaching them, explanation can only begin and end with the attempt to relate increasing experience and knowledge to such as one already believes oneself to possess, in order to achieve a harmony in which the human mind can rest. So long as this is not achieved, the human mind is restless, and must either continue effort or stop thinking—in other words, abandon the quest, which the mind is not likely to do. Mr. Woods' contention is that theological explanation is the most all-embracing form of explanation, as ultimate as man can achieve; though of course he does not contend that complete or final explanation, with all mysteries elucidated, is attainable in this world. The point is that where theological explanation is halted by the difficulties of the terrain or the limitations of the explorers, no other form of explanation can advance further or as far.

After indicating what he proposes to do, Mr. Woods summarizes the present state of theology, expounds conflicting methods of enquiry and the history of them since the eighteenth century, and their possible reconciliation. He eschews 'fireworks' and allows the value of Biblical theology; but his page of questions about it are more devastating to its adequacy than an attack upon it would have been. In this part of his work, as indeed throughout, he uses the one expression to which I am disposed to take exception, though he does so only to make a distinction. Theology, in any form, is a human activity: there is no 'Revealed Theology'. There is Natural Theology and (if Revelation in any sense from any source beyond the created universe and events within it not otherwise explicable can be established as factual) there can be Theology of Revelation; but that articulated product is not itself revealed, as Mr. Woods well knows.

**Theological Explanation*, by G. F. Woods, B.D. (James Nisbet & Co., 210 pp. 27/6.)

Next, he carefully examines 'Explanation' in its various usages and senses, distinguishing between impersonal and personal explanation. He fully recognizes that though all such explanation is personal in the sense that only persons can make it, persons can understand in impersonal terms; but, he asks, is such explanation final in the sense of being satisfactory *ultimately*? Then, his treatment of explanation *in terms of the personal*, involves a short but admirable chapter on Revelation, followed by another of reflections upon historical explanation. Thus he comes, in this section of his book, to the quest for ultimate explanation and its problems, which inevitably leads to considerations of analogy and its uses. The doctrine of analogy is very complicated, but Mr. Woods, ignoring its refinements (which could not be fundamental) manages to make its use, necessity, values and limitations, sufficiently clear. There is nothing in what he writes that an intelligent reader cannot follow without difficulty if he will exercise a little care.

The final section on Theological Explanation is illustrated by the doctrine of Creation, of Jesus as the Word of God, and by considering whether or not moral standards are explicable in impersonal terms. Christian thinking about moral experience in personal terms is shown to be a major example of the theological explanation of human life. The book ends with a short, sympathetic but critical, chapter on Bultmann's attempt to 'demythologize' the Christian Gospel.

I have refrained from quoting because Mr. Woods' reasoning is so well-knit that short extracted passages would be possibly misleading even if they did not misrepresent; but I give one from what he writes on creation *ex nihilo*; he knows that, if given positive meaning, it contains obscurities and tells readers why it must be so. But, he says,

> it represents a faith in God as the ultimate explanation of the world. It is an expression of faith in the ultimate explicability of the world by reference to God rather than an account of what took place when the world came into being.'

The author would not claim that his book is exhaustive, but it is, within its declared purpose, thorough, well-balanced, and contains nothing unreasonable. It is an able work. Mr. Woods is aware of what is important for his purpose. If anyone thinks it superficial because it is easy to read, he is self-deceived and probably regards books written in sesquipedalian words as being necessarily profound, though he cannot understand them, whereas they may well be nothing of the sort. Mr. Woods has thought carefully about his subject until he is able to write about it in simple words, and can illumine his meaning with good illustrations which are not 'stock' ones. He would not dream of minimizing his indebtedness to others; but what makes his book unusual and valuable is that he does not overload his pages with the views of other writers, whether to attack or to defend them. He sets out, with a leisurely and apparently effortless, pleasing freshness what his learning has come to mean for himself. The result is a quietly restrained exposition of his subject which could be rightly claimed to be his own personal thought and work. There is nothing dogmatic about it: issues are squarely faced and residuary difficulties frankly indicated as he goes along. If a reader is sometimes moved to say of some passages, 'I know all this', he would be well advised also to ask, 'Did I know it in quite this way, on these grounds, and in relation to this context?'

Recently circumstances have enabled me to read or read again many more books than I am normally able to do: I have found no better one than Mr. Woods' *Theological Explanation*.

J. S. Bezzant

THE ESCHATOLOGY OF JESUS AND BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION*

We are on a pilgrimage when we read Dr. Robinson's book: 'I have felt compelled, in the first instance in order to find a bottom for my own thinking, to dig down to the foundation of this doctrine' (p. 12). The main questions to be examined are the relation of the Parousia, or coming of the Lord, to the doctrine of the Last Things, and the relation of the Church's teaching to that of the Lord: we find it difficult to believe that there ever was or could be a doctrine of the Last Things separate from the Coming of Christ, and there seems to be a strong prima facie case for believing that the Lord himself taught an imminent end of all things, associated with the return of the Son of Man, with whom he is identified.

The author believes that the consummation of all things is related to Christ's 'coming' quite differently from the way in which it is usually conceived. This is largely because we almost always make the error of thinking of the 'coming' of Christ as his second coming, and make a sharp separation between the first and second. On further investigation we find reason to doubt whether Jesus himself taught in this separate way at all about His 'second' coming.

A summary will not really do justice to the author's argument, but some kind of outline may be given: the 'Second Coming' or 'Second Advent' is not a biblical expression, and first occurs in the middle of the second century A.D. Even the familiar term parousia is in the New Testament confined to one chapter of Matthew, the Thessalonian epistles, and four other separated references. The fundamental belief of the Early Church is in the lordship of Christ already begun, declared by God through the Resurrection, and expressed in such a brief and pregnant formula as 'Jesus is Lord'. In the period of the Church's earliest literature the belief in the parousia (in its usual sense of 'the expectation of the coming of Christ from heaven to earth in manifest and final glory') is absent. When we turn to the gospels, the words of the Lord before the high priest give the clue to the Lord's own understanding of entering into glory: he was doing so by entering upon his suffering, and he used the language of the Book of Daniel to convey this fact, not because he accepted its apocalyptic teaching. This utterance is the norm: much in the Little Apocalypse is, like much in earlier literature, taken over from Judaism, and conflicts with the Lord's conception of his coming. He taught of a coming to appear before the presence of God, inaugurated henceforth through his own redemptive death: the Church made of it a promise of a later return.

How then did the expectation of a Parousia arise? Here criticism is used with great acuteness; Dr. Robinson's main contention is that the expectation arose not from a mere misunderstanding of Jesus' words but—a much more perceptive theory—that 'in the course of transmission his teaching became focused not upon the present event whose urgency he was proclaiming, but upon another event whose imminence he was predicting. And words that he spoke of the one came in the tradition to be applied to the other' (p. 88). Jesus' teaching was eschatological, but not apocalyptic in its basic outlook. That is, he saw events as a prophet saw them, inevitably involving under God's judgment certain significant results, but he did not employ the apocalyptic method of producing a mythological history to supersede the history in which we live; in carrying out this latter process the Church altered the original emphasis and meaning of the Lord's teaching. The mistake lies not in the conception itself, but when what was really myth describing an all-important aspect of the reality 'was taken for literal event, a second event parallel

*_Jesus and His Coming_, by J. A. T. Robinson (S.C.M. Press, 1957, 15s.). _On the Authority of the Bible_. Some recent studies by Leonard Hodgson, C. F. Evans, John Burnaby, Gerhard Ebeling and D. E. Nineham. (S.P.C.K., 1960, 8s. 6d.)

with the first, lying on the same temporal line, and separated from it by an interval, whose length could be measured . . .' (p. 181).

The general conclusion may well be correct, but there must be many hesitations: what are the consequences of the position that Mark's gospel apart from chapter xiii conveys a different eschatological message from that which it conveys with that chapter? The author does not answer this question, which would lead us into considerable investigation of the way in which the gospel was composed. Again, Dr. Robinson does not believe that 'when he comes in the glory of the Father with the holy angels' in Mark viii, 38, can 'safely be regarded as belonging to the original words of Jesus' (p. 55). He does not discuss the variant 'and of the holy angels' (p. 45, W. syr. sin); this may well be the true reading and by its primitive Christology reopen the question whether the word is authentic or not. If it is, this looks like primitive eschatology too, perhaps from the mouth of the Lord. Again, how far did Jesus identify himself with the Son of Man?

If the Lord used the imagery as the author of Enoch used it, we might accept apocalyptic sayings as authentically his but not intended literally. This is the solution which, in company with several others (e.g. R. H. Lightfoot and Fuller), Dr. Robinson accepts for the Lord's reply to the high priest (which he does not regard as apocalyptic) in Mark xiv, 62, and parallels. In this connexion it was surely quite unnecessary to argue that Mark may originally have written, '*You have said that* I am; *but from now on* . . .' (p. 49). Mark does not contain the 'from now on' as do the Matthaean and Lucan parallels, but Matthew and Luke here (as Matthew so often) were drawing out what they believed to be Mark's meaning, perhaps totally without the modern scruple which would distinguish between what Mark intended and what he could *now* be taken to have *meant*.

The author's interpretation of Luke raises more questions than can be discussed here, but one or two points must be made. Criticism is stood on its head when Luke xxi, 20, with its reference to Jerusalem surrounded by armies instead of to the 'abomination of desolation' (Mark xiii, 14) is attributed to an 'independent and more original' tradition. Conzelmann's work is mentioned only in a list of books (p. 13), and his persuasive theory, that Luke sees the days of Jesus, the days of the Early Church, and his own time, as different periods, each within God's plan, but with individual characteristics, is not discussed. On this view Luke is more likely to have edited his documents with considerable freedom, and, despite the authority of scholars of the calibre of Dodd and V. Taylor, the theory of an independent source in Luke xxi is quite unnecessary; it must give way to the view that Luke has interpreted Mark in the light of events which he had experienced long enough ago to believe that he could see their significance more clearly than could the author of his source.

The author's treatment of the Ascension raises more important issues. It is far from certain that the shorter text of Luke xxiv, 51 f., is original, and that what we are accustomed to call the Ascension 'is the final withdrawal of the Christ who has already been exalted to the Father's side but who has returned for a limited period to show himself to his disciples' (p. 135). Dr. Robinson sees here 'a complete absence of any language of theophany' apart from the cloud; but this is a fatal concession: the cloud almost constitutes a theophany, as always in Luke (who will have nothing to do with clouds in the plural), and is a link not only 'with the later Parousia' but with the previous Transfiguration, as is further shown by the presence of the two men,[1] clearly Moses and Elijah (see Luke's language at ix, 30) and by the shining garments, which they were at the Transfiguration, the Resurrection and the Ascen-

[1]Why does Dr. Robinson say 'angels'?

the Fourth Gospel's interpretation: if the Lord himself used apocalyptic language time but of theological emphasis.' There is no such disjunction: for Luke everything happens 'in its season' and the time when it happens has theological significance.

Indeed this book would have been more successful if it had included, probably begun with, another step in the argument, the careful distinction of Luke's 'seasons' and Matthew's contrasted and forthright telescoping of all important future divine events into one, and both from the primitive eschatology of Mark, who wrote because he thought he saw the signs of the end which tradition told him Jesus predicted. The next step would be to discuss the validity of Q and to establish as far as possible what the Lord's own teaching was.

The Fourth Gospel is held to have issued less a 'corrective of other views so much as a setting forth . . . a tradition of the teaching of Jesus which had never seriously undergone the tendency towards apocalyptic that we have seen reason to regard as a potent factor of distortion' (p. 163). This is indeed a debate which continues; but again, it is quite unnecessary to argue in this way in order to assert the value of the Fourth Gospel's interpretation: if the Lord himself used apocalyptic language (*pace* Dr. Robinson), but used it pictorially to convey a truth not to be conveyed except in some such language, the Fourth Gospel is an inspired guide at least to one aspect of the teaching, and need not be based on a tradition of that teaching separate from the synoptic.

This book makes out a very interesting case; that it does not quite convince still leaves open the possibility that further arguments would make the case stronger. It was completed in January 1957, before Professor Harold Riesenfeld's address at Oxford in September in 1957 on *The Gospel Tradition and its Beginnings*. One wonders what Dr. Robinson would make of the arguments of that important paper: apart from the hint in I Thess. iv, 15, which he regards as unhelpful because too vague in its reference as to which words are 'of the Lord' (although it is *logos* which Paul says he has here, implying the whole of which he now treats) there is also the probability of the derivation from the Lord of I Cor. xi, 26, a passage left without mention. Our belief that the eucharist is a setting forth of the Lord's death *till he come* may well go back beyond the scripture to its cultic origin in Jesus. And this *till he come* is different from, though of course vitally connected with, the Lord's coming in the eucharist itself. Granted that the Second Coming was not originally the object of the Lord's prophecy in most sayings generally so understood, is there not yet a sense in which the eschaton is or will be a coming of the Lord (to individual or church) such as our experience of the eucharist teaches us to anticipate, but which it does not and cannot forestall?

In the small volume of essays on the authority of the Bible Dr. Hodgson questions a basic assumption in Dr. Robinson's book, that there was any one earlier doctrine superseded by a later one. More generally, Dr. Hodgson pleads that the theologian must not expect to find revelation in the Bible expressed in a way in which it can be simply read off but must constantly ask a question of this kind: 'If truth about God's revelation be such that those men saw it and wrote of it like that, what must it be for us?' We cannot indeed successfully force upon the Bible a different set of categories from its own. The present Archbishop of York (January 1961), in his *From Gore to Temple* (p. 141) refers to 'the Bible, its unity, its urgency, the validity of its own categories'. It is doubtful how far the contributors to this book, which is a collection of occasional papers previously published in journals, would agree that the biblical categories, though of course valid in the sense that they are significant and the vehicle of truth, are valid for us without interpretation. Dr. Gerhard Ebeling, writing on 'The Meaning of "Biblical Theology"' holds that

'It can be shown that theology emerges from the meeting of the witness of the biblical revelation with Greek thought, and that these two elements are constitutive for the nature of theology'. The Bible requires theological explication. Professor Burnaby ('Bible and Dogma') argues that orthodox Trinitarian formulations are the only statements compatible with the biblical doctrine of salvation. One is tempted to reply that the biblical statements are even more certainly so compatible, but our contributors are for the most part sceptical of Biblical Theology, Professor Nineham for example calling it 'a good servant but a bad master', in his paper 'Wherein lies the Authority of the Bible?'; Professor C. F. Evans ('The Inspiration of the Bible' and 'Bible Tradition'), much more sympathetic to the tradition represented by Hoskyns, Thornton, R. H. Lightfoot and Farrer, yet with great lucidity argues the need for seeing the Bible as using rather than confined to, contemporary language and forms of thought, and for understanding it within the life of the Church. All these papers deserved to be published and demand consideration.

ROBERT LEANEY

THE SCIENTIFIC WORLD AND THE INTERIOR LIFE

In 'The Phenomenon of Man' Teilhard de Chardin reviewed the whole history of the physical universe, as revealed by the sciences, as a process of growth in 'complexification', punctuated by explosions which each in their turn took life on to a new and richer level culminating in the phenomenon of man. The development of life in the usual meaning of the word made this earth a 'biosphere'; the development of man had made it a 'noosphere'. What next? Teilhard de Chardin infers from the evidence of contemporary life that there are warnings of another eruption and fermentation leading to a consummation. As this is outside human experience, and cannot therefore be regarded as within the sphere of logic or science, he merely used the symbol *omega* to denote the end of the evolutionary process. In *'Le Milieu Divin'*[1] he expresses the process, which he had described synoptically in terms of the sciences, in the framework of the Christian tradition. It is in some measure autobiographical and the description of the interior life and re-actions of a sensitive Christian who has accepted whole-heartedly the conclusions of the sciences. 'A possible series of inward perspectives gradually revealed to the mind in the course of a humble yet "illuminitive" spiritual ascent—that is all we have tried to note down here' (p. 12).

Dividing our lives into two, our activities and our passivities, and believing that 'divinisation' is the purpose of life for the Christian, Teilhard de Chardin very largely draws upon his own inner life and analyses both as *'le milieu divin'*. The translator acknowledges himself baffled by the French word *milieu*. *Milieu* means more than 'environment' or 'circle'. It means the environment plus the central directing force of that environment or 'circle'. *Milieu* stands for both centre and circumference. Hence 'le milieu divin' for man is the acknowledgment of God working upon him from without and at the same time from within himself. Possibly it would have been better, in translating the title of the book, to have abandoned the French altogether, and substituted Paul's priceless expression for the world's consummation: 'that God may be all in all' That is what the omega of 'The Phenomenon of Man' in 'Le Milieu Divin' is described to be.

Teilhard de Chardin is a whole-hearted Christian humanist. On the one hand he rejects the sufficiency of the common-place of much spiritual direction heard today: that action in itself is valueless but, if our intention in act conforms to the will of God, then we have given our will and obedience to God and done all that is

[1] *Le Milieu Divin*, by Pierre Teilhard de Chardin (Collins, 18s.).

required of us. Because however, as our knowledge of the universe shows us, we cannot be separated for the material universe, all human endeavour no less than the intention behind it has value for God. 'The will to succeed, a certain passionate delight in the work to be done, form an integral part of our creaturely fidelity' (p. 35). 'By virtue of the Creation, and still more of the Incarnation, *nothing* here below is *profane* for those who know how to see' (p. 38). He views with great misgivings the rejection in our time of Christian humanism by both Catholic and Protestant alike, and the insulation of religious activity and thought from the currents of secular life. 'The great objection brought against Christianity in our time . . . is the suspicion that our religion makes its followers *inhuman*' (p. 40 f.). Hence he speaks of the sanctification of human endeavour and the Humanisation of Christian endeavour. Of our passivities—diminishments is a term used by Teilhard de Chardin in common parlance suffering in its widest sense—he only expresses in the context of our scientific world what the classic humanistically-minded theologians and the saints have always told us, that for those who trust in God, He converts evil into good. Of death itself he writes, 'The function of death is to provide the necessary entrance into our innermost selves' (p. 69). He is careful to point out that to confuse Christian resignation with passivity in the face of evil is to make a parody of the Christian faith. 'There is no attitude which the Gospel is so bitterly reproached with having fostered as that of passivity in the face of evil—a passivity which can go as far as a perverse cultivation of suffering and diminishment' (p. 71).

Many readers will be disappointed because the book fails to lay the emphases on the Fall, sin, and grace which belong to the traditional scheme of salvation. Teilhard de Chardin gave his thoughts on the Fall in 'The Phenomenon of Man'. In the preface to *'Le Milieu Divin'* he himself writes, 'The reader need not be surprised at the apparently small space allotted to moral evil and sin; the soul with which we are dealing is assumed to have already turned away from the path of error' (p. 12). His thought on the act of grace follows almost the same path as John Oman's in 'Grace and Personality'. 'The subject under consideration is actual, concrete, "supernaturalised"—but seen in the realm of conscious psychology only. So there was no need to distinguish explicitly between natural and supernatural, between divine influence and human operation' (p. 12). This is of course in line with the highest reaches of the teaching of the New Testament, whether it is Jesus's, Paul's, or John's, reaches which seem so often beyond the sights of contemporary biblical theology.

'The Phenomenon of Man' showed Teilhard de Chardin's genius as a great man of science able to take the synoptic view and plot a Christian metaphysic: *'Le Milieu Divin'* shows him a wise man of deep spirituality and understanding, sharing with the educated spiritual layman his dissatisfaction both with the confident certainties of the irreligious and the distortions and false emphases of many religions.

H. C. Snape

NEITHER SCIENCE NOR RELIGION

The reviewer of this volume[1] is placed in an invidious position, since the contributors move in an atmosphere in which scientific terms are used in such emotive and non-scientific ways that after a few pages a confused dizziness begins to overtake him. He begins to feel like Alice behind the looking glass: everything is so twisted and distorted that he begins to wonder whether language will ever again be able to convey meaning. The volume is pretentiously produced and naively reports in full the most trivial remarks made at a conference in Oxford in 1959. The

[1] 'Science and Religion' The Second Conference at Oxford, July 1959. The report of the proceedings.

terminology of modern physics is freely employed but in a manner which stuns by its obscurity. For example a physicist would make little sense of the statement by Mr. Griffith Evans that 'every atom emits a train of radiation peculiar to itself and that this property is *present* in the ultimate particle, *evident* in the permanent unit of mass and *to be looked for and expected* on the molecular and the systematic level' (pp. 20, 21; his italics). Nor would a chemist make much of his later remark (pp. 24, 25), 'Sugar-molecules are built of hexagons; very many of the coal tars are made of hexagons, some of pentagons; as are many hormones. So that there is a negative or counter-entropy, a stream of creative energy moving from rim to centre, bearing the configuration of these perfect forms which we see in our chemistry'.

The same author begins with the incredible statement that very few eminent scientists 'believe in Einstein and the de Broglie wave-functions' (p. 20). Does he mean that scientists do not accept Einstein's theories? What does 'believing in a wave-function' mean? Chemists and physicists know that the concept of a wave-function is employed to solve certain atomic problems, etc., and that such methods are frequently highly successful. But this is not quite the same thing as 'believing in' them. This is indeed a Jabberwocky world and one cannot help reacting like Alice: 'Somehow it fills my head with ideas—only I don't know exactly what they are'.

A recent court case has given full publicity to the claims of the Delawarr Laboratories and the doubts that are legitimately entertained about them: but no whisper of doubt is recorded in his volume, and the claims seem to be accepted uncritically, almost with adulation. Another contributor (the Rev. F. Loehr) produces photographs of seedlings which have been 'prayed over' or have been given 'an extra prayer boost' or even merely 'encouraged'. According to the photographs the seedlings so treated are larger than the untreated, or than those that have been explicitly 'cursed'. But no satisfactory statistical evidence is presented for these extraordinary claims other than the photographs and their captions. This will not do scientifically —nor will it do theologically. Because we believe in God as Creator and Sustainer of all, that is we do not have to presume that He can be bent to satisfy our whims, however 'religious' we try to make them.

Again what can one honestly make of the statement of one of the contributors (Mr. C. W. Davson, p. 143), 'He put a kettle of water on a gas ring, and he lit the gas'. I exclaimed, 'You have done it, you have made the Sign of the Cross'. 'How?' he asked. 'The cohesive force of the water is crossed by the heat energy,' I explained. And again, 'One can't move without making the Sign of the Cross, without crossing two stressfields'. We are back here in a world of cabbalistic symbols, of the esoteric semi-pagan symbols of free-masonry, of the Gnostic rivals to the catholic faith. I have no doubt that the Church of Christ was and is right to resist this debasing of its coinage. When it is added that one of the speakers (the Rev. F. Loehr again) not only believes in Atlantis but knows about the discoveries of 'Atlantean scientists' then one has to conclude that, sincere though they may be, the contributors to this volume have nothing to say to rational man.

Yet many of the authors seem to believe that their ideas will commend religion to modern scientifically conditioned people. After reading this volume, the reviewer could only conclude that it represents a perfect example of false science leading to false religion. As such it can only evoke the strongest possible abhorrence amongst those trained to weigh evidence and who are familiar with the concepts of modern physics. Whatever this volume is about, it is not about science, and it is doubtful whether it is really about religion either, certainly not the Christian religion, though possibly some form of Buddhism.

Finally it must be noted that the conference took place in the Oxford Union Debating Hall and in an Oxford college, photographs of which preface the volume along with a quotation from a speech by a distinguished Oxford professor of chemistry. But let the wary not be deceived by this assumption of an Oxonian cloak. The contents of this volume are the very negation of scholarly and disciplined thought for which the name of Oxford still, we hope, stands.

A. R. Peacocke

THE JEW IN THE MODERN WORLD

It is not difficult to produce an encyclopaedic article on a religion, your own or someone else's. It is more difficult, but much more worth while, to show what a religion means to those who practice it, to let people see 'what makes it tick'. This has been done superbly by Leon Roth in *Judaism: A Portrait,*[1] and the title has been chosen with the exactness which befits a philosopher. This is no modernistic portrait, more concerned that the viewer shall be interested in the artist than that he shall recognise the sitter. It is in the classical tradition, and belongs to that small but fascinating and distinguished series of masterpieces in which a parent has been lovingly depicted by the talent and affection of a son.

The work is rightly described as 'a portrait' for the additional reason that this fittingly describes its limitations. An artist dresses his sitter in the garments most fitted to bring out the characteristics he wishes to communicate; and the fact that he has given her a blue dress does not preclude the possibility that she has others in her wardrobe. Leon Roth has given us a portrait of the Judaism in which *he* was born, and which has been the mainspring of his personal life. It is the Judaism which we associate with the word 'traditional' rather than 'orthodox', for the latter has come to have a tragically and pathetically narrow connotation. It is a Judaism rejoicing in the wealth of its inheritance, the richness of its liturgy and the insight and penetration of its philosophers. It ought to be compulsory reading for every Christian cleric, from curate to professor and bishop, who is accustomed to make references to Jews and Judaism in his sermons. We Christians have, alas, an evil tradition of always looking at Judaism with a view to comparing it with Christianity. As the flood of popularisations and commentaries poured out by such scholars as William Barclay show only too painfully, much of what we offer is still tied up with an unhistorical and un-Christian desire to abuse 'the Pharisees', to expose only the faults and curiosities of a religious tradition which we have particular difficulty in understanding, just because it has an origin which it shares with our own.

There could be no better corrective than this book of Roth's, and it is both short and eminently readable. Roth is especially good in setting the particularities of Judaism into a comprehensible perspective, and it is the passion of Judaism for going into detail which so many Christian commentators have found *in*comprehensible. He begins with the paradox of 'the balance (often an uneasy one) between the universality of the doctrine and the particularity of its transmitters' (p. 15); he illustrates the particularity of practice in many places. On p. 22 he discusses Jewish insistence on 'translating general virtues into particular duties'; on p. 117 ff. he has an excellent passage on the 613 commandments which the rabbis discovered in the Pentateuch; on p. 130 ff. he brings his favourite philosopher, Maimonides, into the discussion; and on p. 168 ff. he links him with the continuous tradition of the rabbis on the relationship of this multitude of detailed precepts to the basic purpose of religion in a superb quotation from his *Code*: 'Whoever serves God out of love

[1] *Judaism: A Portrait,* by Leon Roth (Faber & Faber, pp. 240, 25/-).

occupies himself with the study of the Law and the fulfilment of the commandments, and walks in the paths of wisdom, impelled by no external motive whatsoever, moved neither by fear of calamity nor by the desire to obtain material benefit; such a man does what is truly right because it is truly right, and ultimately happiness comes to him as a result of his conduct'.

Roth is also particularly interesting in dealing with the Liturgy of the Synagogue. It is not generally realised by parsons who want to reform the Anglican order of psalms because 'lots of them show a Jewish and not a Christian morality', that the psalms which he would probably reject were rejected from the liturgy of the synagogue centuries ago (p. 42). Ps. 137, for example, has no place in synagogue services, whereas psalms like Ps. 91 are repeated several times over in the rhythm of the year. In a moving passage in which Roth links the many commandments with the service of the synagogue he writes: 'the whole tradition of Judaism is one continuous prayer to be taught the path of life which leads in joy to the presence of God.'

JAMES PARKES

GOSPEL PATTERNS*

To a reviewer who learnt his theology at Cambridge in the time of Brooke, Burkitt and Bethune-Baker, the present-day world of New Testament study seems strange indeed. Forty years ago we were taught to approach a Gospel as we should any other ancient document, with as few presuppositions as possible, and with the dominant motive of attempting to discover the historicity of the author's narrative by the use of any critical standards that might be helpful. We recognised the author's foibles and limitations, but we gave him credit for intending to tell the truth; and if we suspected that he was not doing so, we put it down to human frailty in an uncritical age rather than to any deep-laid scheme of symbolism or apologetic. We endeavoured, in fact, to honour the spirit of Frederick Temple's remark: 'If the conclusions are prescribed, the study is precluded'.

'Biblical theology' has changed all that; and each of these books, though they are not at all alike, is an example of a very different method of approach. Each begins with a theory of the evangelist's purpose and method which arises from the fact that the Gospels are Christian documents, and assumes the truth of the Christian revelation; in its light each individual section of the Gospel is examined and interpreted. Procrustean beds are seldom quite comfortable; no wonder that the exegesis creaks rather frequently. But both books are learned and important.

Professor Conzelmann, of Zurich, has a twofold thesis partly critical and partly apologetic. He believes that the 'geographical pattern' of Luke's Gospel is highly significant; and that by it the author presents 'a far-reaching theological reinterpretation' of God's redemptive purpose in history, and man's salvation through the work of the Spirit in the life of the Church. Throughout his Gospel, and also in the Acts, Luke is consciously and deliberately working out his theological theme by imposing on the traditional Christian material his own typological overtones. What Professor Conzelmann writes is solid reading, with much detail and many footnotes. His own position seems characteristic of the 'Biblical theologian', who contrives to combine a high degree of ecclesiastical orthodoxy with the acceptance of radical criticism of the New Testament. His book is translated from the German, and was originally published in 1953.

Archbishop Carrington, of Quebec, has also a twofold thesis. His critical theory, (originally advanced in a book called *The Primitive Christian Calendar*, published

*_According to Mark_, by Philip Carrington (Cambridge University Press, pp. 384, 50/-).
The Theology of St. Luke, by Hans Conzelmann (Faber & Faber, pp. 255, 30/-).

in 1952), is that St. Mark's Gospel was so composed or arranged as to be read through in sequence Sunday by Sunday in accordance with the Jewish calendar. His theological position is also traditionally orthodox, but in a different way from Professor Conzelmann's. Archbishop Carrington is conservative about the authorship of the Gospel, which he accepts as that of Mark under the instruction of Peter, regards most of the Gospel's miraculous element as historically accurate, and is apt to be contemptuous of those whom he terms 'the moderns', 'the over-critical', or (somewhat strangely) 'the disciples of Julicher'. Yet his book is delightfully readable, particularly because it is written with an infectious enthusiasm (reminiscent of B. H. Streeter) that interests and attracts even when it does not convince. His treatment of individual sections of the Gospel, moreover, is frequently original and illuminating.

H. K. Luce

GOSPEL ETHICS

The insights of two generations of New Testament study have not yet, at least in this country, been interpreted in terms of Christian ethics. At one time it was sufficient for the teacher of Christian ethics to bring together and, as far as possible, to systematize the ethical words of Jesus and of the New Testament writers as they stand. Research into sources and 'setting in life' now give means of evaluation of which little use has yet been made. One probable reason for the neglect of this subject has been the tendency of several theologians to point out that ethics and the Gospel are very different things indeed. It is none the less evident that the two are connected; and critical study of the way Christian ethics arise out of the Gospel is certainly overdue. Dr. Manson's little book[1] is both a lucid introduction to the subject and a contribution to it worthy of his memory. It is based on notes of lectures which he gave in Manchester and the United States. Preparation for publication was begun by Manson himself and completed after his death by Canon R. H. Preston.

Manson finds the foundation of Christian ethics in the work of Jesus as interpreted by his own sayings recorded in the Gospels. In his first two chapters he sets these in the context of Israel's thought, its experience of God, and the ethics which are based on the law of Moses. Jesus' most typical forerunner in the ethical sphere is the ruler, who was God's agent for administering his law. The ethics of Judaism are seen in terms of the three 'pillars of the world' defined by Simeon the Righteous as the Law, Worship, and the 'imparting of kindnesses'. The third chapter interprets the Sermon on the Mount, not as saying, 'This is how men in general should live if they really want to build the kingdom of God on earth', but rather, 'This is how you who are in the kingdom of God should live if your citizenship is to be a reality'. Simeon's 'pillars' are paralleled in the Sermon, which consists of the New Law, the New Standard of Worship, and the New Standard of Corporate Solidarity. The fourth chapter shows the foundation of Christian ethics to be 'following Christ'. This is expressed in the words, 'Love one another as I have loved you', which fulfil all Jewish teaching by going beyond it. The last two chapters describe the earliest Christian community and the way the ethics of Jesus were applied in it. The principles, values and methods of Jesus are intended to be those of his followers today also. With the living Christ as ruler in the kingdom, each individual's creativity is called forth: 'Christian ethics is a work of art'.

J. F. B. Goodwin

[1] *Ethics and the Gospel*, by T. W. Manson (S.C.M., 1960, pp. 109, 12s. 6d.).

SPIRITUAL INTERPRETATION*

'For or against the Old Testament'. This was one of the challenges which faced the Christian thinker during the second and third centuries A.D. Granted that the Law of Christ had superseded the Law of Moses, and the Christian was redeemed man, did it not follow that the Old Testament was the work of an inferior power and therefore without relevance to the Christian? Marcion and the Gnostics gave one answer. Irenaeus and Origen another. But, even assuming that the Old Testament was the Word of God, what was its relationship to the New? How were the admitted contradictions and inconsistencies between the two Testaments to be explained? The answer was the interpretation of the Old Testament through an elaborate system of types and allegories. Typology allowed the interpretation of events in the old Testament as prefiguring situations recorded in the New Testament. Allegory enabled the orthodox theologian to range far and wide, finding analogies to teaching in the New Testament deducible from statements made in the Old. Origen, basing himself on an exact study of the sacred text, moulded the growing edifice of Christian typology into a system aimed at guiding the believer to the ultimate spiritual meaning of every word of Scripture, within the framework of the Church.

Dr. Hanson traces the development of this process in this interesting and well-written book. The first part, entitled the 'Sources of Christian Allegory' gives an excellent account of the two background influences, namely the Rabbinic Jewish and Alexandrian use of allegory which Origen was to fuse into a single system. The author is clearly right when he claims (p. 125) that 'it seems reasonable to look for the sources of Christian allegory, not in Alexandria but in Palestine', though in Athenagoras at least some evidence of Alexandrian (Philo) influence is evident. The stress on the Palestinian legacy to biblical interpretation comes at a moment when J. Daniélou has been laying bare unsuspected ramifications of Jewish-Christianity in Christian writings and practices in the first two centuries.

In his study of Origen's use of allegory, the author shows himself a firm yet friendly critic. Churchman, and 'founding Father of the critical commentary' though he was, detailed examination of his works show him to have been a prisoner to the presuppositions of Alexandrian philosophy. His three-fold system of dividing allegory into 'literal, 'spiritual', and 'moral', was 'ultimately self-frustrating'. Similarly, no one can pretend that Origen was a 'Christian realist', and indeed his approach to the historical Jesus was often little different from that of his Neo-Platonist opponent, Celsus. His eschatology was inconsistent with the eschatology of the New Testament. But with all said and done, 'he brought a touch of the master' into a subject 'which had hitherto been nothing much more than the exercise of amateurs, and established useful contact with streams of thought like Rabbinic Judaism, outside Christianity'.

It is a pity perhaps that the author has spent so much time in discussing and controverting the views of other scholars. Daniélou, Lubac, Spicq, de Faye are among those who come in for criticism. A shorter book written in a less argumentive style would have been welcome. Even so, Dr. Hanson has made a very important contribution to the study of Biblical interpretation in the early Church. The book is full af valuable insights. Origen is placed in the framework of the biblical problems of his time, and after him no Greek-speaking Christian could be 'against the Old Testament'.

W. H. C. FREND

*R. P. C. Hanson, *Allegory and Event*: a Study of the Sources and Significance of Origen's Interpretation of Scripture (S.C.M. Press, 1959. 400 pp., 35s.),

TERTULLIAN ON THE RESURRECTION

Canon Ernest Evans, whose lifelong study of Tertullian has already produced editions of three major works, now completes his task by an admirable edition of the *De Resurrectione Carnis*.[1] The work is done with scholarly completeness; the student will find here a judicious introduction, a carefully edited text, a sound translation, full notes and commentary, and valuable indices. The *De Resurrectione* is normally assigned to Tertullian's later Montanist period, but Dr. Evans sees in it (Ch. xi, 4) signs only of a slight inclination towards Montanism. His notes are full and at times fascinating in their completeness. For the text, he is content usually to follow Dr. Borleffs in reliance on the codex Trecensis (T) discovered in 1916 though not afraid to desert it on occasion (e.g. x, 20 and xi, 6; xlvii, 2) or more rarely to show independence of Borleffs. Translation of Tertullian's rather crabbed or impetuous Latin is notoriously difficult: and Dr. Evans succeeds admirably. One might dare to query 'interstruunt' = 'erect their scaffolding' in iv, 2, and 'appurtenance' in the lovely 12th Chapter, and suggest 'subject' instead of 'purpose' for causa in xiv, 40. But to find errors one would require microscopic acumen. The notes, and particularly the copious quotation of parallel passages are delightful reading.

At a time when the doctrine for which Tertullian contends has been quietly allowed to lapse, (witness the 1928 P.B. and the Doctrinal Report pp. 208-210, not to mention the growing practice of cremation) one may well question the relevance of arguments depending in part on Tertullian's materialism and in part on his misplaced ingenuity and literal biblicism. The flesh is dignified because God handled and moulded it in making Adam; its reconstruction is supported by the analogy of the Phoenix, which Tertullian perversely reads for the 'Palm-tree' of Psalm 92, 12, and the fact that the Phoenix 'must be worth many sparrows', and (the trump-card) the flesh as well as the soul is required for complete judgment and adequate punishment: one may well doubt the value of an apologetic based on these and on many of the quibbles by which Tertullian wrests scripture to his purpose. But one cannot doubt the value to Patristic scholars of the meticulous care and wide learning of this edition; it is refreshing to find such patient and comprehensive treatment still extant, and proceeding not from a university chair but from a vicarage.

C. B. Armstrong

THE WISDOM OF THE EAST

Vinoba Bhave's talks on the Bhagavad Gita,[2] which date back to 1932, have not hitherto been available in an English translation. In them he has succeeded admirably in demonstrating the power and fascination of this Indian classic. That the Gita is very much alive today because of its undoubted influence upon and reinterpretation by Gandhi is hardly surprising, and since Vinoba Bhave is in the line of Gandhi's successors, this book is all the more important and interesting.

The affective appeal of the Gita in practice, as distinct from its literary worth and traditional value, is bound to be restricted to a minority. This is because the Gita contains an uncompromising command to the performance of actions with complete renunciation of fruit and without attachments even to a good thing, for only by this means can the goal of life be attained. Vinoba has translated the Gita into living terms, and given it immediate significance as a summons to service and spiritual development without egoism or pride in the contemporary world-scene. Many, brought up in the Christian tradition and comforted by the historical facts of Christianity, may regard the path of salvation offered by the Gita as desperately

[1] *Tertullian's Treatise on the Resurrection*, edited by Ernest Evans (S.P.C.K., 1960, 50s.).
[2] *Talks on the Gita*, by Vinoba Bhave (Allen & Unwin, 16s.).

self-dependent and solitary. Nevertheless, no one who reads Vinoba Bhave's exposition, will doubt that there are some aspects of Indian philosophy which can teach us in the West a much needed lesson in the dispassionate striving after action without compromise.

Radhakrishnan has provided a number of major standard works for the specialist and scholar—it is not too much to say that he is the most important modern Indian teacher of philosophy as far as the West is concerned in bridging the gap between Eastern and Western thought. This essay,[1] which was first published in 1927, and has gone through ten reprints, now appears in its present form, and will serve as an introduction both to Radhakrishnan, himself, and to Indian philosophy. It is an exceptionally concise and coherent statement of modern Indian thought and practice against the background of Indian religion and philosophy.

Dr. Edward Conze is a well-known author and editor of books on Buddhism and Buddhist texts. This book,[2] first published in 1951, now makes its appearance in a 'paper back' edition. Of all the introductory books on Buddhism it is the best. If ever there is need for a G.C.E. text book on Buddhism, this will be the book to recommend for that purpose.

A Dialogue of Religions, by Ninian Smart is in the Library of Philosophy and Theology series.[3] It brings out the most important points of difference and similarity between the great living religions of the world. Mr. Smart has devised a realistic and lively dialogue between a Christian, a Jew, a Muslim, a Hindu and two Buddhists of differing traditions. One of the primary aims of the book is to emphasize the claims of the Christian and non-Christian religions to a share in religious revelation, and so, on the part of the non-Christian Faiths, the right to a more serious consideration comparatively than has often been accorded to them in some Christian circles. Beyond this there is the whole field of basic agreements and disagreements among these great religions and fundamental religious and philosophical problems. The dialogue has been planned skilfully so that the most critical issues involved in such a comparative study are brought out, and so that this book, while it may be read by anyone with some knowledge of these religions, is not elementary, and will be most valuable to those who desire to ponder the more subtle aspects of such a dialogue.

R. J. W. Bevan

SHORT NOTICES

The Book of Jeremiah, Introduction and Commentary by H. Cunliffe-Jones (S.C.M. Torch Bible Commentaries, 1960; pp. 287; 15s.).

The Book of Jeremiah, by the disjointedness of its composition, makes heavy demands on the unsophisticated reader and can be in large part unintelligible without expert guidance. Such guidance is supplied by Dr. Cunliffe-Jones in this commentary. Practically every verse in the book is dealt with in a thorough exegesis, which has an expository interest. The Introduction gives a valuable guide to the reading of Jeremiah, but historical background is kept to a rather low minimum. It is a long time since a commentary on Jeremiah has been published in this country, and this is the best commentary on the English text known to us. It is recommended not only to the intelligent general reader but also to clergy and other students of theology.

J. F. B. Goodwin

[1] *The Hindu View of Life*, by Radhakrishnan (Allen & Unwin, 4s. 6d.).
[2] *Buddhism: its Essence and Development*, by Edward Conze (Bruno Cassirer, 6s. 6d.).
[3] *A Dialogue of Religion*, by Ninian Smart (S.C.M. Press, 18s.).

THE MODERN CHURCHMEN'S UNION

Office Arrangements

Mrs. B. Mold and Miss C. Richardson are now sharing the work of the Assistant Secretary. All communications should still be sent to Caynham Vicarage, Ludlow.

Conference 1961

The Conference Programme is enclosed with this issue of the Journal. Further copies, for distribution to people who may be interested, may be obtained from Lady Kathleen Oldfield, or from the Hon. Secretary.

Meetings of the Council

The Council has started important discussions of the Union's basic policy during the next few years. A group of 15 members are meeting for two days at Ripon Hall in April, to draw up a preliminary report. This will then be considered further by the Council.

Local Branches

The Annual Meeting of the London Branch is being held on 19 April and it will be followed by the Annual Dinner; the speaker will be the Reverend L. B. Cross.

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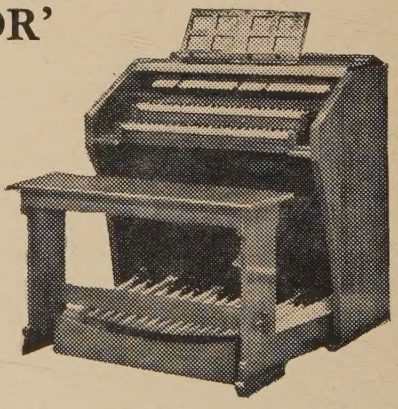

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